The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1897.

The Week.

As was expected, the Government's October expenses are proving heavy, and the deficit for the month promises to be something handsome. But the officials at Washington are already arranging for still larger outlays. In the Navy Department, Mr. Roosevelt is prepared to prove that at least $11,000,000 must be had at once for dry-docks alone, if this nation is to be spared the shame of sending its battle-ships to Halifax to have their hulls scraped and painted. We can stand Halifax "frowning" upon us and "threatening" us, as Lodge's frenzied eye beheld her; that only means that we, too, must frown and threaten and give somebody fat contracts to enable us to do it. But if Halifax gives us the friendly use of a dry-dock, the cup of our humiliation is full, and nothing but an appropriation of $11,000,000 can restore our self-respect. Then Secretary Wilson of the Agricultural Department is sure he must have a great deal more money. He means to distribute tons and tons of beet seed, so that we may produce all our own sugar and be spared the mortification of raising $50,000,000 revenue from the imported article. Everybody, in fact, wants bigger appropriations, the revenue being, of course, a "mere matter of detail." Our Government, to tell the truth, is now run on the principle which, as displayed in the construction of the Duke of Argyle's castle, won Johnson's admiration—namely, a "total defiance of expense."

The *Herald* has a telegram from Paris to the effect that the Indian Government, in reply to a further pressing invitation by the English cabinet to consider Senator Wolcott's proposals, has answered that it cannot reopen the question of the Indian currency, and will not be a party to the reopening of the mints for the free coinage of silver. "In well-informed English circles," adds the correspondent, "it is not believed that Lord Salisbury's Government will dare to override the decision of the Indian Government. Senator Wolcott's mission must thus be considered abortive." This news is probably true. It is an easy thing for the people in Downing Street to throw the finances of India into disorder from which they would not themselves be the sufferers, but the men who have to deal with the question practically are bound to consider the question with reference to the interests of India solely. The contention of the bimetallists is that the mints should be reopened in order to secure a par of exchange between silver-standard countries and gold-standard countries. That desideratum is what India has secured by stopping the coinage of silver. To reopen the mints would be to reopen the disturbance. It would seem as though India had had enough experience with free coinage, under which the fluctuations of exchange have ranged as high as 50 per cent., taking the extremes of the whole period 1873-1893. Who is to guarantee that they will not fluctuate as widely in the next twenty years under like conditions? The theory is that an agreement between France, India, and the United States will hold the par of exchange steady at 15½ to 1; but supposing that it does not, who, in that case, is to make good the losses of the Indian Government? Will Parliament make an appropriation for that purpose? Will France and the United States do so? Will Senator Wolcott contribute something? The whole scheme is preposterous. No country is more interested than the United States in its rejection by India and every other country. The longer the question remains open, the longer will uncertainty continue as to the standard of value.

One of the surprising things about the letter of the Governor of the Bank of England, offering to hold one-fifth of its bullion in silver, is that it appears to have been written without consulting with his colleagues in the direction of the Bank. Mr. Smith's letter bore date July 29, yet on September 11 Mr. Grenfell, who described himself as "one of the senior members of the Bank Court," wrote to the London *Times* to deny the rumor that the Bank was going to take the silver dog by the ears, affirming: "I doubt if any opinion has been recorded or any determination come to at all." The question at once arises, If Mr. Grenfell knew nothing of the Governor's letter, did any of the Bank Court know? And if the Governor can venture upon such an important step without taking the opinion of his directors, what may he not do? A London financial paper declares bluntly that the whole thing was not a question of banking or finance, but of political intrigue; and that the reason Mr. Smith wrote his letter was that his eyes were fixed on "hypothetical stars—if not garters."

Many attempts have been made during the last six months to get Mr. Gage to take the public into his confidence, and the Peorians have at last drawn him. He dedicated the Bradley Polytechnic Institute of their town last week, and unbosomed himself. Like other sphinxes, however, he did not say what was expected, and did say something that his friends, certainly, could not have dreamed of hearing. About the currency he was mum as ever, while he discoursed at length on the "service due from wealth," and roundly denounced all who had imported goods while the Dingley bill was going through Congress. This, he said, was "sharp and inequitable," because the importers did it "to anticipate and take over to themselves the revenues which Congress was endeavoring to secure for the good of all." This view may take in Peoria, but it certainly will not among the importers, who forced the retroactive clause out of the Dingley bill last spring. What they urged was, that it was "sharp and inequitable" that a law should be made to stop their business before it was passed by Congress. Mr. Gage is a very good banker, but that does not make him a good ethical teacher. Besides this, the retroactive-clause question is absolutely disposed of, while the currency question is still up. Some expression of opinion about it in his report in December will be read with interest.

The withdrawal of England from the joint sealing conference because Russia and Japan are to be members of it is evidently due to the objections raised by the Canadian Government. Although the conference is deliberative merely, having no power to alter the rules laid down by the Paris tribunal, the Canadians apprehend the adverse influence of a majority vote against their views and interests. The grounds upon which England puts her refusal to meet Russia in this conference are set forth in the recently published Blue Book. This document contains the communication from the British Colonial Office to the Foreign Office dated July 26 of the present year, in which it is said that "the reason's which induced her Majesty's Government to decline to enter upon a joint negotiation with the three Powers interested in suppressing pelagic sealing were, that since 1893 Great Britain has had an arrangement with Russia in regard to the seal fishery in which that Power is interested, and that, as the seal herds are generally alleged to be quite distinct and not to intermingle, no advantage would have been gained by a joint negotiation which could only have been based upon incomplete knowledge of the facts." It appears also that Lord Salisbury's acceptance of the conference, which was dated July 28, was for a conference "between Great Britain, Canada, and the United States," and that was expressly limited to the object "of arriving, if possible, at correct conclusions respecting the numbers, conditions, and habits of the seals frequenting the Pribyloff Islands at the present time as compared with the several sea-

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sons previous and subsequent to the Paris award." The seals frequenting the Russian islands were not contemplated in the negotiations for a conference. These negotiations were conducted solely by Ambassador Hay. The bringing in of Russia and Japan seems to have been the work of Mr. John W. Foster, of whose prowess as a coercionist and tail-twister there was much talk in the newspapers three or four months ago.

The decision of Judge Baker, in the United States District Court for Indiana, regarding the right of removal from office takes essentially the same view of the question as had previously been expressed by Judge Cox of the District of Columbia Supreme Court and Judge Jenkins of the United States Circuit Court at Chicago. This latest case was one where a United States marshal had removed a deputy, who was in the classified civil service, for no other reason, apparently, than the fact that he represented the opposite political party. Judge Baker held that his court, as a court of chancery, had no jurisdiction in the matter, but he proceeded to state his position as to the points that had been raised. The substance of it all was that no rule or regulation of the Civil-Service Commission, nor any executive order, could change the law under which the marshal has the right to appoint and dismiss deputies.

The Judge, however, showed the way in which responsibility can be brought home to every official who removes a subordinate in defiance of commission rules or executive orders. "The enforcement of such rules or regulations," he said, "lies within the domain of executive departments, which possess ample powers to enforce the proper observance of and subordination to the rules and regulations promulgated by the Executive for the government of those employed in any executive department of the government." In other words, the head of any department directly—as the Attorney-General in the case of a United States marshal—and the head of the Government finally, can compel obedience to any rules or regulations by their power of removing the superior who violates such rules or regulations in the treatment of his subordinates. For example, President McKinley recently promulgated the rule that "no removal shall be made from any position subject to competitive examination except for just cause and upon written charges filed with the head of the department or other appointing officer, and of which the accused shall have full notice and an opportunity to make defence." The United States Marshal in Indiana appears to have violated this rule. The case should be carried to the President, and Mr. McKinley should be forced to decide whether he meant anything by that order. Here seems to be a chance for the civil-service reformers of Indiana to put in some effective work.

The decision of the Citizens' Union to nominate candidates for the Assembly in all the city districts is the most direct blow which could be aimed at Platt's political business. Quigg was prompt to realize this, for he denounced the proposal as soon as he heard of it as an act of "bitter hostility to the Republican party," showing that the Union "is not a non-partisan municipal movement at all, but simply a conspiracy to smash the Republican party." When Quigg says "Republican party" he always means Platt, and there is not the slightest doubt that if Platt were to lose control of the State Legislature, his power would be "smashed." So long as he can name the Republican candidates for the Legislature and succeed in having enough of them elected to give him a majority, he looks forward with positive pleasure to the election of a Tammany mayor in this city. He can, on the 1st of January, resume business on the old lines at Albany. He can introduce a bill cutting down the mayor's term to two years, or a series of bills putting the government of the city into the hands of State commissions, or bills proposing any changes whatever in the charter that may strike his fancy, and Tammany will be obliged to buy him off with spoils or let the bills pass. The State Legislature is, in fact, the very centre of Platt's power. Through that he rules the State, and because he possesses that he is able to levy his blackmail upon corporations, and thus collect the revenue by means of which he runs his machine. If Mr. Low shall become mayor, and Platt still has control of the Legislature and the Governor, he will be in position to cause endless annoyance to the cause of decent and orderly government in this city. The new charter in no way lessens the old curse of rule of the city from Albany.

The county section of the National Democratic party has succeeded in working its own ruin and disgrace by giving its endorsement to the wretched Tammany ticket, in return for Tammany's nomination of Mr. Scott for Supreme Court Judge. It was able to do this after the party organization for the entire city had given formal approval to the candidacies of Mr. Low, Mr. Fairchild, and Mr. Schumann. Of this performance we have spoken already, when it was proposed, as disreputable. It was described in much more severe language on Thursday night by one of the members of the county organization, Mr. James Byrne, who has for many years been an earnest and valuable worker in it, and who called it a "low, contemptible deal, what every citizen in private life calls it—a base, low, depraved sale and barter of human souls for the purpose of getting one man into office." That it will have much effect upon the election we do not believe. No organization whose only excuse for existence was its profession of hostility to Tammany Hall can go over to Tammany, especially at the moment when it has put a ticket like its present one in the field, and carry many voters with it. The most it can accomplish is its own destruction, and that is not a cause for regret.

We have now four parties in the city, each striving to elect officers for the Greater New York. But the most curious feature of the conflict is that only one of the candidates makes any pretence of wishing to be elected for the sake of the city. All the others wish to be elected for the sake of something else. Croker wishes his candidate to be elected for the sake of "the organization," and "the organization" exists to get hold of places for the Boys. Platt wishes his candidate to be elected for the sake of the Republican party in the nation, and for the perpetuation of his own power over nominations and legislation in the State. George wishes to be elected in behalf of a new system of state taxation, or, as he calls it, "the principles of social economy for which he has long contended." In fact, Low is the only one who even pretends to wish to be elected in order to improve the administration of the city.

George knows perfectly that the mayoral chair is not a chair of political or "social economy," and that he would in it have no more power over state taxation, car-fares, or hours of labor than he has now, but he does not mind this a bit. He thinks his election would help to spread his social economy. We must say for George that we believe that, if he was elected, he would be a better mayor than either Croker's man or Platt's man; that is to say, he would probably appoint to office honest cranks and bummers, who would make terrible mistakes and blunders, but probably steal less and make fewer corrupt contracts than Platt's men or Croker's men. Nothing is more ludicrous in this canvass than the attempt now being made to persuade people that, if elected mayor, Mr. George would do something to their property, and the pretence of some of the rich men who want to help Platt, that they believe it. George's election would show that we have a large ignorant element among us, but, alas, we know this already. What it would reveal, which we do not know, is that we have highly placed Americans like Gen. Tracy, ready to lend their aid in spreading atrocious deceptions and helping to promote atro-

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cious follies at the expense of the municipality.

Mr. Low's speech in Brooklyn on Saturday night bristled with good points, but the passage we liked best was the reference to the learned Foraker, who was holding forth in New York the same night on the same subject. It appears that Foraker has been brought on here from Ohio, apparently to tell us how to elect a mayor, and what kind of mayor we ought to have, but Mr. Low hinted delicately that Foraker would like the place himself. This was an *a-priori* inference from the general readiness of Ohio men to fill any places they can get. But Mr. Low alleged with great force that the proper place for the Mayor of New York was his office in the city hall, not Washington or Ohio. It seems to us this must be so. It may be that Foraker knows all about the mayor's office in this city, else why would he come in to tell us about it? but the question is, Could his knowledge be of any use to us if he stayed in Ohio? We think not. There are the same objections to Platt's governing the city from Washington. He is a man of immense administrative ability, but we do not, for our part, believe in non-resident mayors.

A Chicago man who visited Switzerland during the past summer asked ex-President Freye, who was once a citizen of Chicago, how the referendum is working in the mountain republic. He replied that, when a great question is brought forward, the people feel a deep interest in it, go to the polls and vote, and they always vote right; but that, when the matter is of comparatively little consequence, they do not wake up and go to the polls. The Chicago investigator further reports:

"He told me of one farmer named Bauer who had eccentric ideas of the franchise. Bauer said he was accustomed for a long time always to vote 'no,' but recently he had invariably voted 'yes,' and since then he had had much better luck with his cattle."

We judge that there are a good many farmers in Connecticut who vote on constitutional amendments the same way that Bauer formerly did. On no other theory can the remarkable fact be explained that, while the proposition to require ability to read English as a qualification for the suffrage was carried on Monday week by a vote of 47,005 for and only 4,560 against—91 per cent. affirmative and 9 per cent. negative—the opposition rose to 17 and 22 per cent. in Windham and Tolland Counties, respectively, largely composed of rural towns, while in New Haven and Hartford Counties, with their large cities and many foreigners, the negative ballots constituted only about 6 and 9 per cent. respectively. Moreover, in these latter counties it was the rural districts which showed the strongest opposition, the little "back town" of Marlboro casting 14 negative votes as against 20 affirmative, while the city of Hartford furnished only 51 "no" ballots to 1,151 "yes."

It is evident that the real location of the Cuban war is not in the island itself. The fighting is much fiercer in Madrid than it is in Pinar del Rio or Santiago de Cuba. We have our Gen. Woodford most properly there, though in what must be, for him, the highly difficult rôle of a man "with sealed lips." Hostilities are also beginning to rage at Washington again; but the most critical of all the Cuban struggles are going on in various inland towns and cities of the United States, where our Senators and Representatives are in the thick of the fray. Senator Davis, for example, chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations, delivered a deadly assault on the Spanish troops on Thursday at St. Paul. So successful was he that he had belligerency recognized, independence achieved, and annexation secured all in one brilliant action. In all seriousness, what is the use of Gen. Woodford or President McKinley breathing peace and friendship when a man in Senator Davis's responsible position talks as he does? He and the other Senators and Representatives who speak freely of what Congress is going to do are the real belligerents. They are the men whom McKinley has most to dread. They will force his hand infallibly, as they are ostentatiously preparing to do if he does not do voluntarily what they want. Nor can the Spaniards be blind to the real power with which they have to deal. They have seen a Senate asserting its supremacy in the conduct of foreign affairs, and a President meekly yielding it, and why should they be deceived by smooth words from the nominal authorities, when they see the real authorities breathing out threatenings and slaughter?

A most damaging review of Lord Salisbury's foreign policy was made by John Morley in his opening speech in Scotland on September 28. It was necessary for him to do little but contrast promise with performance, and to put the facts with his characteristic pungency. Salisbury had lamented that Bismarck was not again in the chair at the European Concert. Well, why did he not take the chair himself? With the exception of the Emperor of Austria, no active public man in Europe had had a longer experience, particularly in foreign affairs, than Lord Salisbury. If he had not behind him, as Bismarck had in 1878, an invincible army, he had the supreme naval power of the world. Why, then, deplore an empty chair when it was only a question of a strong heart to take it? Nor did Mr. Morley omit to adorn his speech with some of those telling phrases of which he is a master, and which stick in the popular mind. Salisbury had talked grandiloquently of the European Areopagus; yes, cried Mr. Morley, referring to the German bondholders in Greece, a fine Areopagus, indeed—a court for the recovery of small debts! The boasted "forward policy" in India—what was it, asked the orator, but a Forward Rake's Progress? They had been assured in 1895 that the retention of Chitral meant "a period of quietude and economy." Let the frontier ablaze tell of the quietude, and the $25,000,000 already spent of the economy! But one of Mr. Morley's finest strokes was reserved for his characterization of the unscrupulous and cruel nature of English rule in some parts of South Africa. After exposing and denouncing what was practically a system of involuntary servitude, he said, "But I shall be told that I am a sentimentalist. So far as I can make out, however, you are a sentimentalist in the minds of these gentlemen if you are not a ruffian." There in a nutshell is the whole gospel of Jingoism, Imperialism, or whatever other elegant names are given to modern piracy and buccaneering.

The little by-play going on between the Emperor William and Prince Bismarck is highly amusing. The monarch showers compliments upon his old Chancellor at every opportunity, aiming to wheedle him into an endorsement of his policy. These the aged statesman accepts with ostentatious thanks, and immediately sets up his organs in the press with fresh stories or rumors that Bismarck is only waiting to see the Emperor's policies collapse. The latest subject of these manœuvres is the big navy on which the Kaiser has set his heart. He invites Bismarck to be present at the launching of the new battleship; alas! the recluse of Friedrichsruh is too feeble to venture on such expeditions. At any rate, he will answer the obsequious telegram which his royal master sends him. So he does, with profuse non-committal. But the next day he has a little launching of his own in the shape of a newspaper interview wherein he says:

"I never had the slightest fancy for colonial conquests, in the French style, and to go into that policy now is a great mistake. Our commerce should everywhere be aided and protected; but the flag must follow trade, not precede it. For a long time to come the important thing for us is to have a strong and well-equipped army. That was also Moltke's opinion. So let us have no barking dogs or any fantastic plans which can only embroil us with the people whose friendship is most essential to our European position."

This sort of comment, joined with Bismarck's satiric references to the Emperor's ministers, must convince William that Bismarck is not yet ready, as he is reported to have declared that he was not, to be employed for theatrical effect.

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THE BERING SEA CORRESPONDENCE.

Undoubtedly the best thing that could happen to us as regards the Bering Sea controversy would be the total disappearance of the seal herd from our territory or jurisdiction, or, better still, from the world. The poorest kind of an inheritance is to fall heir to a lawsuit, and this is what we gained when we took the Pribyloff Islands under our jurisdiction. We had existed one hundred years as an independent nation without a seal herd and had never missed them. If they were all driven off to Japan by the use of the branding iron, of which there is some fear expressed by sealing captains, we should very soon forget that we had any. They would pass out of the public mind and memory like the buffalo herd that covered the Western plains thirty years ago, and we should be rid of our lawsuit at the same time.

We are reminded of our encumbrance afresh by the publication of a Blue Book on this subject containing an answer by the British Colonial Office to the accusations embraced in Secretary Sherman's so-called "shirt-sleeves dispatch." This famous communication found a few defenders who said that the main question was not whether the dispatch was polite, but whether it was true; and every one of these defenders, so far as they fell under our notice, assumed that because it was not polite therefore it must be true—thus reversing the common observation of mankind, that the person who loses his temper in a dispute is usually in the wrong. We shall not say that Mr. Sherman was wrong in substance, as he certainly was in manners, but it may be affirmed that he or those who write letters for him have got something to reply to now which cannot be answered by mere vituperation.

The document before us is too long to be exhaustively treated in a single article, but the principal points may be mentioned. Mr. Sherman's first accusation was that the report of Prof. Thompson, the British expert, was purposely withheld to subserve the political exigencies of the situation. The reply to this charge is that the reasons for the delay of the report had been communicated to the United States Government in a dispatch of the 7th of May. This was but three days before the writing of Mr. Sherman's dispatch, and "those explanations," says the document, "cannot have been before Mr. Sherman when he permitted the insertion of the above-quoted statement in his dispatch." Referring to the substance of the accusation which relates to the depleted condition and probable early extinction of the herd, due to pelagic sealing, it quotes from the final report of Dr. Jordan, the American expert, the opinion, derived from a careful study of all the conditions, that "the fur-seal herd has decreased to about one-fifth of its size in 1872-'74, to somewhat less than one-half of its size in 1890; and that between the seasons of 1895 and 1896 there has been a decrease of about 10 per cent." In his preliminary report, Prof. Jordan estimated the number of breeding females in 1880 at 600,000, and of all kinds at 1,500,000; but, continues the document:

> "He has now apparently carried his comparison further back, and estimates that in 1872-74 the herd was about five times its present size. This would mean that at that period the herd numbered 700,000 breeding females, and 2,200,000 seals of all grades collectively, and her Majesty's Government will await with interest his explanation of the disappearance of 100,000 breeding females and 700,000 seals of all grades in the period between 1872-74 and 1880, when pelagic sealing had not yet begun. Mr. Chamberlain is not aware that it has ever previously been admitted that there was a decrease in the herd between 1872-74 and 1880, and apparently Dr. Jordan himself was not aware of it when he wrote his preliminary report, as on page 17 of that paper he states that 'until 1872, and perhaps a few years after, the herd continued to increase. During the period 1872 to 1878 it doubtless remained practically in a state of equilibrium under the various checks acting upon it, of which the trampling of pups was the chief; the Northwest catch, which remained stationary at about 5,000 during those years, being another element of the check.' Whether the earlier or later views of Dr. Jordan are to be taken as expressing his final opinion, the discrepancy shows the difficulty attending the discussion of the question in consequence of the absence of any really trustworthy data on which comparisons of the size of the herd at different periods can be based, and justifies the action of her Majesty's Government in refusing to be drawn into a discussion of the question until further information has been acquired."

The charge against Great Britain is that pelagic sealing is the cause of the diminution of the herd, but here is the testimony of the American expert to the effect, in substance, that the number of the herd decreased much faster before pelagic sealing began than it has since done.

Another charge in Mr. Sherman's dispatch was that Great Britain had not furnished her due proportion of the patrolling fleet to enforce the regulations of the Paris tribunal. As neither country was required to furnish any vessels for this purpose, this charge would have only an indirect bearing on the question in any case; but, as a matter of fact, the British force detailed for this purpose has consisted of five or six men-of-war, against an equal number of revenue cutters furnished by the United States. The document adds:

> "Her Majesty's Government also send three vessels to patrol the western side of the Pacific to see to the enforcement of the arrangement with Russia, and, though United States pelagic sealers equally engage in the fishery on that side and the United States have a similar arrangement in regard to it, Mr. Chamberlain has never heard of any United States vessel taking any part in the patrol on that side."

Touching the general principle of the freedom of the seas, the document brings to light the fact that in 1832 a United States vessel named the *Harriet* was engaged in catching fur seals on the coast and in the territorial waters of Buenos Ayres, that the vessel was seized by the local authorities for violation of the rights of that country, and that the United States Government landed an armed party at Soledad, liberated the crew and cargo, and declared "that the seal fishery on those coasts was in future to be free to all Americans, and that the capture of any vessel of the United States would be considered an act of piracy." This instance is made to support the remark, by Mr. Chamberlain, that "the United States Government have departed from the noblest traditions of their country, which had earned universal honor by their efforts to vindicate the freedom of the high seas."

These are only a few of the points covered by the document in question, which ends with the following words touching the future intentions of the British Government in reference to this matter:

> "Her Majesty's Government have never argued that the regulations were perfect, but they have maintained that, before they can be revised in a scientific manner, accurate information as to the increase or decrease of the herd must be available, and that such information can only be obtained by accurate observations extending over a sufficient period to enable accidental circumstances to be eliminated; and as soon as that is at hand, they will be ready to enter on a discussion of the question in the impartial and friendly spirit with which they can confidently claim to have acted throughout this controversy."

MUST THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DISBAND?

Gen. Tracy on Saturday night delivered himself of some remarks on the subject of "non-partisanship" which deserve examination. He asserted that the running of an independent ticket on non-partisan lines meant that the Republican party should "disband and disorganize." He then went on to say:

> "In a popular government political parties are a necessity. No government resting upon the suffrages of a free people can have any other government than the government of a political party. [Applause.] That has been the experience of England ever since the Revolution. For more than 200 years England has known no other government than the government of a political party. That is the government, and the only government, that they have had. It is true of this country also for more now than one hundred years. The only government known in the United States is the government of a political party. It is the only government that can be known. It is impossible to govern this country on any other basis. [Applause.]"

But it is not England only that has had parties for 200 years. Every country in the world has had them, some for 2,000 years. The Jews had them in Jerusalem, the Romans in Rome, the Greeks in Constantinople. But parties in all places except American cities divided, and divide, about things they have control over, not about things which they cannot and do not influence. Parties in England, Gen. Tracy must know, divide only about policies which they can shape and carry out. The Lon-

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don County Council has two parties bitterly opposed to each other—Radicals and Conservatives—but what they divide on is the making of streets, the erection of buildings, and the wages of laborers, not about the Greco-Turkish situation or the South African affair. There are two fierce parties in the London School Board, the Progressists and Moderates, but they divide about the religious education of the children, not about Irish home rule. There ought to be, or rather are sure to be, parties in every city, but they ought to be practical, not speculative parties; they should be parties which can, if they get a majority, carry out their own ideas. When a party man rises to speak at a city canvass, what he should talk about is street-cleaning or police or schools. He should urge his own views on these subjects against the views of other men. It would seem very absurd to invite the audience to leave him and go somewhere else to hear Quigg on the negro or Platt on the currency. There may be, and probably often are, parties in a prosperous bank or trust company; but they are parties about the affairs of the bank or the company. They divide on discounts, on loans, on dividends, not on the decline of the Senate or civil-service reform; they divide, in short, on the affairs which they can shape, not on affairs which they can only think and feel about. In truth, political parties have always, except in our cities and in insane retreats, existed for the purpose of doing something they think they can *do*, and not for the purpose of "voicing" about something they know they cannot do. This is true of Babylon, Nineveh, Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, as well as of England.

If this be so, Gen. Tracy's statement or suggestion that the Republican party in New York must, if they do not win this election, "disband and disorganize," is the kind of statement or suggestion which used to make Charles Lamb examine a man's bumps with a candle. It would follow from this that if I think Mr. Low a fit man to be Mayor, I must, being now a high-tariff man, advocate a low tariff, and that when I next vote for a Congressman, I must vote for a free-trader, though I do not believe in free trade at all. But why should I be so absurd? Why should my views about Mr. Low change my views about silver or free trade? Why am I cut off from voting for a Republican at the next congressional and at the next Presidential election because I think Mr. Low would make a better Mayor than Gen. Tracy? Gen. Tracy does not know; nobody knows. Parties are composed of *voters*, agreeing about things which, if they get a majority, they think they can accomplish or hinder, not about things over which they have no power. A Republican is a Republican, not because he agrees with anybody about the mayoralty, but because he agrees with millions of others in various parts of the country about the things which Congress or the President can do. Why should he not agree with them still, after voting for either Tracy or Low?

The fact is that when Gen. Tracy said that "the Republican party must disband and disorganize" in case Low was elected, he did not mean the vast body of citizens who elected the majority in the present Congress and put Mr. McKinley into the Presidency. He meant the small knot of persons, of more or less shady antecedents, who form the Republican machine of this city, consisting principally of Platt, Quigg, Lauterbach, Van Allen, Gibbs, Gruber, Kerwin, and Murray, and a few others. Not only will they have to "disband and disorganize" in case Low is elected, but to make them "disband and disorganize" is one of the objects of the Low movement.

Nor was Gen. Tracy any more frank about his own share in this business. Had he been frank about it, he would have said something of this kind:

"What I mean by saying that the Republican party will have to 'disband and disorganize' if Low should succeed is, that the small clique, headed by T. C. Platt, who assume to represent the Republican party in this city, will have to abandon their occupation for want of funds, and about half the income of my own firm will be cut off. I am a partner of a son of this Platt, and although he is not a practitioner of very high standing, the power of his father over the Legislature and Governor and some of the judges is so well known that we receive much business from our connection with what is called 'the Old Man.' Nearly all our politico-legal practice comes to us for this reason—both suits, contract and bond-drawing. We do, also, a very nice business in stopping bills or 'jamming them through' when the Legislature is in session. We cannot possibly consent to surrender such a revenue as this without a contest. Should Low be elected, the elder Platt would probably lose control of the Legislature. Not only would he thus be unable to obtain the large sums he now gets from corporations, because he could no longer promise them privileges or immunities, but we should lose the large revenue our firm now receives from our connection with him. This is why you see me here to-night as a candidate for the mayoralty. I have no more expectation of being elected than any one else in this room. I am a candidate for revenue only. I am fighting, as you would fight, for property, and I am therefore naturally opposed to Low and George. But you will understand that all this does not prevent my being, as my learned friend Foraker has just remarked, a man of 'very high character' and 'unswervingly loyal to the Republican party,' and 'a man of justice, probity, and without reproach,' and 'a man of most irreproachable character in both public and private life.' This is why I cling so to the Republican party and hate to have it 'disband.' I have become a candidate, I admit, also, to oblige Mr. Platt; but why should I not? Is there any man to whom I am under greater obligations? Is there any man whom it would be baser for me to desert in the hour of his extremity? No, my friends. The Republican party has been a good party to us. There always has been a Republican party in every country. Civilizations have risen and fallen, but the Republican party has survived them all. It exists and continues to exist because it meets some of the deepest needs of humanity. Man, as the old writer well said, ages ago, cannot live on wind alone. He needs food and clothing, and, since the invention of street-railroads, has needed car-fare. Principles will not fill his stomach. The Republican party has been the first after Tweed's party to recognize these tremendous facts of human history and deal with them."

SPAIN'S DILEMMA.

The practical exhaustion of Spanish resources, after the tremendous exertions of the past two years in attempting to put down the Cuban rebellion, is admitted in Spain. It may not be true that the Bank of Spain has refused to advance $10,000,000 more to the Government, but it is certain that more money can be had, from that source or any other, only with the greatest difficulty and on the most onerous terms. The official organ of the Government lately spoke of the Treasury as "exhausted." Sagasta, before taking office, declared that the financial situation was deplorable, if not desperate; and it has since been given out that a frank statement of the case would soon be made public. It is confessed that the troops in Cuba are six months in arrear in their pay, and there is no money to send to them.

Moreover, one has only to trust Spanish testimony to be convinced that the unparalleled efforts put forth in Cuba have failed in their aim. Gen. Weyler's latest official dispatch asserted that the western end of the island was completely pacified, yet in a week's time he had to report a serious engagement with insurgents in the very province of Havana. As for the eastern section of Cuba, where the rebels are in force, and where they recently captured an important garrison after a set siege of two weeks, the most that the Captain-General could promise was that the rebellion should there be put down "by next March." Meanwhile he confesses to heavy losses through disease. In fact, invalided soldiers are sailing for Spain nearly every week. One ship's load of 600 men recently lost sixty men in the passage

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home. Good judges now put the Spanish effective in Cuba at not above 100,000 men.

This is the discouraging situation in Cuba after two years of fierce and exhausting exertion. Never before in the world's history has a nation made such sacrifices and put forth such effort to subdue revolting colonies as has Spain since 1895. A recent official report of the Spanish Minister of War sets forth the astounding figures. Between November, 1895, and May, 1897, no less than 181,738 men, 6,261 officers, and 40 generals have been sent to Cuba. Counting the garrisons already in the island, the total fighting force must have been hard on to 225,000 men. In addition, and during the same period, Spain has had to send 28,000 men to the Philippines. It is safe to say that no nation in modern or in ancient times ever sent across the seas so many of her fighting men in her own ships in the same length of time. It has been a supreme and unequalled display of energy, but it has been fruitless.

There are military experts in Spain who assert that this whole policy of massing a colossal force in Cuba has been one huge mistake. It was playing the insurgents' own game, they say. The announced policy of the rebels was, not to fight, but to exhaust, Spain. There was no regular campaign; no open fighting; no pitched battles. The war was a guerrilla war; the work of the army was largely that of doing garrison and police duty, or of pursuing, in light columns, the fleeing bands who raided here and there, but who never stood up for a square fight on equal terms. In these circumstances, say some Spanish military critics, the enormous dispatch of troops was a blunder. The men could not operate to advantage in such numbers; they were in each other's way, so to speak; they made camp and city congested; and their sustenance was a frightful drain on Spanish resources. The policy but hastened the time for which the insurgents were looking, when Spain, wearied and exhausted, should be ready to think of abandoning Cuba altogether.

While a good deal is to be said for this view, from the purely military standpoint, there were other reasons of a political nature which justified, if they did not compel, the lavish pouring out of men and treasure. It was indispensable that the rebellion be crushed quickly. Cánovas saw, all Spanish statesmen saw, that a prolonged and smouldering insurrection would be fatal to Spanish supremacy in Cuba. In the aroused and sensitive condition of public opinion in the United States, that would have infallibly meant interference by us. But interference by the United States was also from the first a high card of the insurgents. They counted upon that as much as upon tiring Spain out. So the Spanish Government was wise, on the whole, in its resolve to spend every power in making a speedy end of the rebellion. That was the only way to retain Cuba. The pity of it all is that Spain has spent every power, has exhausted herself, and yet has not quickly ended the rebellion. In other words, the insurgent policy has triumphed in both its grand aims: Spain is baffled and breathless; sympathy for Cuban independence has risen to great heights in the United States, and is rising higher every day.

In these altered circumstances it is inevitable that Spain's policy should have altered. It is clear that the new ministry intends to try the plan of political remedy, of placating by reforms and a grant of autonomy, while still making a show of crushing out opposition by force. It is a question if this is not too late—if the change will not mean to the insurgents a final confession of weakness, and cause them to stand more stubbornly than ever for independence. The better opinion seems to be that such will be the case. If so, Sagasta's task will be the difficult one of inducing the Spanish people to submit to the inevitable. He may be aided, or he may be hampered, by the attitude of our own Government. At present, we must confess, a diplomatic collision and a rupture appear the most probable. But whichever way Spain turns, the dilemma that confronts her is most cruel; and no one possessed of the historic imagination can fail to see pathos in the situation to-day of the nation that, three centuries ago, was at the head of Europe and of civilization.

BIOGRAPHY REGAINED.

One of the sources of delight in the Life of Tennyson is the conviction, which strengthens upon the reader as he is led on through its fascinating pages, that, with these volumes, English biography is recovering its sane and sound methods. We have to glance a long way back to realize fully the dislocation and demoralization which fell upon biographical writing a dozen or fifteen years ago. From Southey's Life of Wesley, Stanley's of Arnold, Trevelyan's of Macaulay, it was a sudden and a violent leap to Froude's Carlyle. The shock brought by the latter work to minds trained in the old traditions is well illustrated in a story which Tennyson himself wrote of with approval in a letter to Gladstone. It is as follows:

"I heard of an old lady the other day to whom all the great men of her time had written. When Froude's 'Carlyle' came out, she rushed up to her room, and to an old chest there wherein she kept their letters, and flung them into the fire. 'They were written to me,' she said, 'not to the public!' and she set her chimney on fire, and her children and grandchildren ran in—'The chimney's on fire!' 'Never mind,' she said, and went on burning. I should like to raise an altar to that old lady, and burn incense upon it."

Tennyson did a great deal of similar burning towards the end of his life, if reports may be believed, and his son and biographer tells us that he himself did a great deal more. At any rate, whether by fire or otherwise, the Life of Tennyson has been purified. Not an unsavory scandal lurks in it from cover to cover, not an unexplained insinuation, not a jeer at weakness, not a fling at inferiority or failure. One feels that he has got back to the bracing and clarified atmosphere of the great biographies.

The enormous value of this literary achievement is the more evident when we recall the many recent examples going to show the general searing of the sense of delicacy and reserve in both biographers and readers. Of the biography of Manning it has been sadly said that Mr. Purcell appeared to set out not so much to write the Cardinal's life as to take it. Manning's friends wanted to prosecute his biographer for murder. Nor could we necessarily expect better things of Hallam Tennyson simply because he was writing of his father. Filial obligations have not always prevented biography from becoming a "chronique scandaleuse." Augustus Hare has drawn a picture of his mother with unsparing hand, as Barrie has of his mother with reverent though still indelicate touch. Mr. P. G. Hamerton thought it right in his own autobiography to uncover his father's nakedness in a way that would have seemed brutal even if a stranger had done it.

From all this, as from all malice and innuendo and recrimination and backbiting, the Life of Tennyson is so absolutely free as to make its writing and publication a great event in letters, quite irespective of its positive merits. It is something to have the record of this long life, in touch as it was with all the great and honored ones of his time, and find in it not one ungenerous line, not one squint suspicion. Any other result would, to be sure, have been peculiarly outrageous in the case of Tennyson. No man valued reserve more than he, none ever writhed or burned more at the crimes of an eaves-dropping and newspaper-ridden age. Once when he thought he was dying, he cried out in a greater agony than that of physical suffering, "Oh that Press will get me now!" His son prints some remarks which he once let drop on the indiscreet and indecent school of biography:

"I hate the blare and blaze of so-called fame. What business has the public to want to know all about Byron's wildnesses? He has given them fine work, and they ought to be satisfied. It is all for the sake of babble. As for the excuse, 'Tôt ou tard tout se sait,' nothing can be falser as far as this world is concerned. The surface of the *tout* may be, but the *tout* never is, correctly known. 'If one knew all, one would pardon all,' is much more likely to be the truth. The worth of a biography depends on whether it is done by one who wholly loves the man whose life he writes, yet loves him with a discriminating love. Few of

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these gossiping biographies are the man, more often the writer:"

Lord Tennyson's Life of his father would be entitled to the highest praise if it had but escaped adding one more to the list of "gossiping biographies." It has, of course, the solidest claims to admiration for what it gives as well as for what it refuses. It shows that it is not necessary to write in a whispering-gallery or servants' hall in order to produce a biography of surpassing interest. This is not the place to pass a formal judgment upon the Life of Tennyson. But it may be said that his son has given us all we need to show us the growth whether of man or poet, and that one closes the volumes feeling that the man was greater than his poetry—that his poetry was great because it came from a great heart and a rich and wise mind; that, in short, the contents of this biography fulfil the promise and justify the choice of the lines printed on the title-page:

"I have lived my life, and that which I have done
May He within Himself make pure!"

BLACKSTONE.—II.

How is it that Blackstone's 'Commentaries,' whatever the deficiencies of their author, stand apart from and far above all our other legal treatises?

The answer is that Blackstone was an eminent man of letters, and, by virtue of literary genius, favored by the circumstances of his time, produced a treatise on the law of England which at once became and will for ever remain a part of English literature: the 'Commentaries' live by their style.

This reply, however, needs explanation. Style, to ordinary readers, means little more than the command of a copious and appropriate vocabulary; but in truth the possessor of a good style must be endowed with at least three qualities—power of expression, clearness of aim, and literary judgment or tact. Each of these gifts, which are rarely found in combination, belonged to Blackstone. His language, or "style" (in the narrower sense of that word), was universally admired by the educated men of his age; it was certain to be appreciated by a generation trained in the school of Johnson. At times, if tried by the canons of modern taste, it degenerates into pomposity, but on the whole it well deserves the commendation which it has received from good judges. Blackstone's thought is often wanting in precision and is open to the charge of confusion, but his language is always clear. He says what he means to say, and says it on the whole with simplicity, and (what is a fair test of good writing) his expressions rise and fall in accordance with the requirements of the subject-matter. His language is simple and plain enough when he is engaged in explaining legal technicalities, and it rises to dignity, and even to eloquence, when, for example, he is insisting upon the glories of the English Constitution. His style fascinated his hearers, and if for readers of a later age its fascination has vanished, it still retains a certain attractiveness.

Even the best English writers of the nineteenth century are apt to lack clearness of aim, and are unable to place clearly before their eyes the exact object which they seek to attain; they have not made up their minds what is the precise character of the audience whom they intend to address, or what is the precise scope of the work which they hope to produce. This planlessness mars the writings of an author so eloquent as Froude and of a writer so capable and interesting as Mr. Lecky. But the fault which detracts from the merit of even the best literary work of our day is, or rather has been (for in this matter there has of recent years been a great improvement), the special vice of all but a very few of our writers on law. The vast mass of legal treatises are utterly without plan; their writers have generally collected together a vast mass of information, but they have no clear notion what is the class for whose benefit they are writing. At one moment they have in their minds the wants of an ignorant student. At another moment they wish to meet the requirements of practitioners. They have formed, again, no conception of the scheme on which their subject is to be treated. No sane man would ever dream of seriously examining or criticising the arrangement of a book such as Chitty on Contracts, and this for the simple reason that of anything like logical distribution of a subject—such, for example, as is displayed by Sir Frederick Pollock in his admirable work on the Law of Torts—the author had probably no idea whatever. Now from all this vice of planlessness Blackstone is utterly free; his book is addressed to a definite and, from a literary point of view, to an admirably chosen class of persons. He addresses educated gentlemen who, for one reason or another, wish to study the law of England and to understand its principles; these men may be students who wish to go to the bar, they may be magistrates who take part in the administration of justice, they may be members of Parliament, or persons who hope to shine in political life. In any case they are assumed to be an audience who are neither on the one hand practitioners who want to learn the details of their business, nor men who had not acquired the elements of a liberal education. Blackstone writes, in short, for educated gentlemen who desire to become acquainted with the principles of English law. He knows not only who are to be his readers, but also what is his precise design. His book is written on a carefully considered plan. Few persons will nowadays entirely approve his scheme of arrangement, but the scheme is never out of his mind. His intention is to cover in outline the whole field of the Common Law. He distributes his subject into four books, each of which is intended to deal with a separate branch of law. His arrangement is open to very severe criticism from a logical point of view, but for literary purposes it has some strong recommendations. Knowing, as he does, both the persons for whom he is writing and the exact scope and plan of his book, he avoids the faults of books which are, often mistakenly enough, called "practical," and of still more worthless books which aim at being what is termed popular. He makes no attempt to supply the details for which you must properly refer to books on practice, and he does not, on the other hand, aim at meeting the wants of uneducated ignorance. He aims at producing, as he has produced, a book on law which may interest men of education and intelligence.

Neither Blackstone's command of language nor his clearness of aim would have enabled him to succeed in the performance of the task he had set before him, had he not been endowed with the gift of literary judgment or tact. This is the quality in which even excellent writers often fall short. It would be possible to point to one book after another which contains extremely good writing, and which is formed in accordance with a thoroughly sound design, but has never achieved complete success because of the writer's want of tact. This defect may show itself in various ways. It may easily take the form of pedantry. An author who has been at great pains to acquire information finds it all but impossible not to make use of the facts which he has laboriously collected together, and therefore intrudes upon his readers statements which it may have been well worth his while to verify, but which are not necessary for the treatment of the matter which he has in hand, and which do not interest those whom he addresses. Learning is a means, not an end, and the useless display of learning is the vice of the pedant. Want of judgment, again, may well take the shape of an exaggerated desire for completeness. There are books, no doubt, which ought to be in the strictest sense exhaustive, and such works fall short of their end if they do not deal with every part of their topic. But a treatise belonging to this class must, almost of necessity, be written for, as it will assuredly be read only by, experts, and the exhaustive method of treatment is utterly unsuited for literature which is intended to meet the wants of a wide though educated public. Blackstone at any rate has realized to the utmost the worth of the well-worn dictum that the half may be more than the whole. His omissions are one main source of his literary success.

But the want of tact which leads a writer to touch upon every part of his subject may also induce him to treat no one part with fulness. Exhaustiveness may be combined with meagreness; 'the result is that the reader who is told something about everything is told nothing which is interesting about anything. From this mistake Blackstone is saved by his tact; he does not dread omission, he is also able to indulge in suitable expansion. He knows where to curtail and also where to abound. It is in this point more than any other that Blackstone displays his special genius. In virtue of his tact he has succeeded, as has no English writer before or since his time, in blending the history with the exposition of law. He has avoided at once the dry dogmatism which infects the whole school of systematizers and codifiers, and the antiquarianism which is the bane of authors devoted to the historical method. Not by the use of any logical formula, but by reliance on his native good sense, he perceived exactly the amount of historical information which was needed to explain each rule of law, and never gave his readers either more or less of history than was sufficient to render the law of England intelligible. He always remembered that he was a teacher of law, and neither a legal dogmatist nor a legal antiquarian. Hence, amidst the mass of subjects which form part of the law of England, he selected for special exposition topics which, because they were interesting, have interested and instructed his readers. Among such topics one may specially refer to his

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"Introduction to the Law of England," to his account of hereditary right, to his sketch of the feudal system, to his history of the doctrine of the "benefit of clergy," to his account of the action of ejectment—where the solemn description of a portentous series of legal fictions becomes not only interesting but also almost amusing—or to his statement of the growth and nature of "Equity," which, even at the present day, for practical purposes is probably the best, as it is certainly the most readable, account of a matter as to which even lawyers are often a good deal perplexed. But the truth is one might fill a page or more with a list of the interesting disquisitions on different parts of the law which fill up Blackstone's 'Commentaries.' In the art of so dealing with law as to make legal problems of interest to laymen of intelligence, Blackstone is unrivalled, or rather he had no rival till Maine published his 'Ancient Law.'

Blackstone, then, was a consummate master of style, and in virtue of his style produced a law-book of supreme literary merit. It were idle in this matter to compare his writings with most of the standard works on English law. We may say of nearly every law-book produced before the last thirty years (when, under the influence of Maine, lawyers attempted again to write in the spirit of men of letters), that style it had none. It were idle to talk of the style of the Chittys, or the Addisons, or the Archbolds; it would savor of unseemly irony to talk of literary grace or lucidity in connection with Sugden. No doubt to this condemnation there are one or two splendid exceptions. Serjeant Stephen, Kent, and Story had as writers great though different merits. It is noteworthy, by the way, that two of this trio had acquired or practised the gift of exposition in the lecture-room, and these eminent lawyers wrote for lawyers rather than for laymen; they did not, like Blackstone, aim consciously at adding to English literature.

Yet the Commentator's genius as a man of letters would hardly have insured his lasting fame had not the circumstances of his time singularly favored his endeavor to exhibit the law of England in an adequate literary form. English law had, when Blackstone wrote, assumed a fixed and, we may say, coherent shape. The foundations of the Common Law and even of Equity were, in his day, too firmly established to be greatly modified by judicial legislation. Mansfield had done all that a great judge could do to amend the law, and Mansfield's efforts in the direction of legal reform had come at least a century too late; he left no successor. The legislative innovations of Parliament had not begun. To most men the law and the Constitution, though legally capable of change, seemed practically unchangeable. It is just possible that Blackstone's legal apologetics betray, like the theological apologetics of Paley and others, a half-conscious prescience of coming revolution. At any rate the catastrophe was not nigh at hand. More than fifty years, dating from the publication of the 'Commentaries,' elapsed before the period of constant parliamentary alteration or reformation of the law began its course. Blackstone, like Gaius, could contemplate the law which he described as a coherent and immutable body of doctrine. The reformation of the law by means of parliamentary enactment, which, inaugurated under the influence of Bentham, has lasted to the present day, has been the source of infinite benefit to the world. But though it has promoted human happiness, it has been an almost fatal obstacle to the rise of any other author who should repeat in later days the success of Blackstone. The law has become, especially as regards real property, incoherent, and acts of Parliament, whatever their merits, have, while greatly increasing the bulk, ruined the symmetry of the law of England. Were Blackstone to arise from his grave, he could, with all his talents, make nothing, from a literary point of view, of the modern statute-book, which, with its delusive look of clearness, is written in the worst kind of English known to civilized men; and even in Blackstone's time it was well for a writer on law to avoid acts of Parliament. It is instructive to note how deftly and lightly he passes over the Statute of Frauds.

Nor was it only the fixity of the law and the legislative torpidity of Parliament which were favorable to the composition of the 'Commentaries.' It is of almost equal importance that Blackstone lived at a time when the so-called learned world was a reality, when there was an established standard of style, and when men of letters addressed themselves neither to experts nor to that very unsatisfactory class known as general readers. The audience of whom Johnson, Hume, Adam Smith, Gibbon, and Blackstone courted and received the approbation, was the whole body of the educated gentlemen of England. It is no accident that these authors, greatly as they differed from one another, had this characteristic in common, that they were all of them masters of style. It was the Commentator's happy fortune to have lived at a date when the law of England could still be expounded in a satisfactory literary form, and when the world of letters supplied him with the right form of expression. Of this good fortune he availed himself to the very utmost. As regards not so much Blackstone's fame as the permanent influence of his teaching, the happy circumstances on which we have dwelt were balanced by one piece of ill luck: his official successors did not continue his work. One of them wrote a book on law which no one ever reads; another, and he by no means the least distinguished of a very undistinguished body, occupied the Vinerian professorship, and discharged its duties, if at all, by deputy, while he himself held a judgeship in India. Blackstone, because he was followed by no real successors, did not create a body of disciples. Had his place been taken by teachers of half his energy, even though they had not been endowed with his own genius, he would have retained his deserved reputation. His successors, while correcting his errors, either logical or historical, would have worked out the fruitful suggestions to be found throughout the 'Commentaries,' and he himself would have been known, as he ought to have been known, to the world as the founder in England of a great school of law.

PETER THE GREAT.—I.

PARIS, September 21, 1897.

M. Waliszewski is devoted to the history of Russia; his two volumes on Catharine II. of Russia were received with much favor by the public; the first ('Le Roman d'une Impératrice') has already attained the eleventh edition, the companion work ('Autour d'un Trône') the sixth edition. He gives us now a volume, which is even more important and richer in original documents, on Peter the Great. At a moment when the fever of the Russian alliance was at its height, it was rather bold to show us Peter the Great as he really was; the Russian Empire as a land hardly emerging from a barbarous and inorganic state. I confess that the book has produced on my mind almost the effect of a nightmare. Peter appears in it as a sort of monster, as a prodigy, as the embodiment of another and inferior humanity. A modern philosopher has written eloquent pages on the *Uebermensch;* the Slav, as personified by Peter, is a sort of *Untermensch:*

"Peter," says M. Waliszewski, "is Russia itself, its spirit and its flesh, its temper and its genius, its virtues and its vices. With the diversity of his aptitudes, the multiplicity of his efforts, the tumult of his passions, he seems a collective being. . . . The physiognomy of the world which he seems to have drawn out of nothingness may have been modified in some of its features; not so the principle of its existence. There is a force there, immeasurable, which in three centuries has defied all calculation, and which out of the small land of Ivan, a poorly populated steppe, has made the patrimony of the Alexanders and the Nicholases, an empire larger in size and in population than any which Europe, Africa, and Asia have known, than those of Alexander and of Rome, those of the Caliphs, the British Empire, with all its colonies. Twenty millions of square kilometres and a hundred and twenty million men! This force was once called 'Peter the Great.' The name has changed, the character has not."

Peter the Great was born on May 30, 1672. He was the son of Natalie Narishkin, the second wife of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovitch, who died in 1676. The mother and the young child had to leave the Kremlin, and were sent to a village near Moscow. The Tsar Alexis had other children by his first wife; the eldest, Feodor, died in 1682, without posterity. The second was an idiot. The high dignitaries pronounced in favor of Peter, who was five years old. It was a triumph of his mother's family, but it did not last long. The Miloslavski, relations of the first wife, proclaimed her daughter Sophia, who was already twenty-six years old. She had been brought up in the *terem* of the Kremlin, a sort of cloister; the Patriarch and the near relations were the only visitors. "The doctor was admitted only in the case of a grave malady. When he arrived the shutters were closed, and he could feel the pulse only through a piece of linen." The Princesses lived there, slaves of an immutable and Oriental etiquette. "The people only knew their names, which were pronounced in the public prayers. The Princesses knew nothing of life; they were not allowed to marry a subject on account of their rank, nor a foreign prince, on account of their religion."

Notwithstanding many difficulties, Sophia was able to become the instigator of the *coup d'état* which was marked by the revolt of the Strelitzi, and which made Ivan Peter's associate—Ivan the idiot, the brother of Sophia. "The *terem* was certainly under the direct influence of Byzantine ideas, comprising the historical mixture of asceticism and of intrigue which composed the life of the Lower Empire." Sophia found an instrument in Vassili Galitzin, with whom she was in love, but she was the soul of the plot against the Narishkin faction.

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The Kremlin was besieged, the Strelitzi began a massacre which lasted three days; at the end of it, Sophia threw off the mask, Ivan was proclaimed second Tsar, a great banquet was served for the soldiers, and Sophia did the honors of it. The red shirts of the Strelitzi were still covered with blood; she helped them to drink. On May 29 she was proclaimed Regent.

Meanwhile, young Peter was a passive victim. At the age of eleven, he did not yet know how to read and write. He came back to the Kremlin only on the days of great functions, to sit on the double throne (which is still to be seen in the Museum of Moscow). The rest of the time he remained at Preobrazhenskoi. He made friends with grooms, with country boys, played at soldiers and sailors with them. There was a constant rivalry between the Kremlin and Preobrazhenskoi. The Regent Sophia and Galitzin were living in an atmosphere of plots and counter-plots. On the historical night of August 7, 1689, Peter was awakened from his sleep by men coming from the Kremlin to tell him that an armed band was on its way to put him to death. He dresses rapidly, jumps on a horse, and takes refuge with some stable-boys in the nearest forest, and afterwards in the monastery of the Troitsa. His friends assemble; the Strelitzi pronounce for Peter; the favorite Galitzin is exiled, and Sophia is sent to a cloister.

Peter is now really the Tsar, but he at first abandons the government to his friends, and feels the desire to complete his very imperfect education abroad, at the schools of the civilized world. He did not execute his project immediately, but spent six years in idle amusements, with his friend Lefort, a Swiss officer of fortune, whose house became the centre of gay companions, the comrades of the Tsar. "Ladies also were seen there, Scotch women with a fine profile, Germans with dreamy eyes, fat Dutchwomen. None of them resembled the recluses of the Muscovite *terems*, inaccessible behind iron grates or veils of silk." A great Muscovite reaction against Jesuits and Protestants had followed the *coup d'état* of 1689. In 1690 Patrick Gordon, who lived in Russia, wrote to a friend in London: "I am still at this court, which costs me much expense and uneasiness. Great rewards have been promised to me, but I have received nothing so far. When the young Tsar takes the government in hand, I don't doubt that I shall receive satisfaction." The young Tsar was in no hurry; he lived in a perpetual orgy of movement and noise, or in trying all sorts of experiments, learning trades, building a fleet on a small lake. He was very impatient to view the sea, something bigger than a lake; he sees it at last at Archangel, and appoints Gordon Admiral, he himself remaining a mere captain of the fleet. His life seems mere caprice, but under the surface there worked a hidden and profound instinct. He resolved to enter into contact with Western civilization; but, in order to gain some prestige before undertaking his journeys in the West, he conducted an expedition against Azov, which he succeeded in taking, and thought he could now show himself to his neighbors. He learned on this expedition all that he had to learn.

Such was the instinctive hatred of Western civilization in Russia that, since Ivan the Terrible, the mere act of visiting foreign lands had seemed high treason. Peter himself did not dare to give his journey an official character; he pretended to travel incognito. He was accompanied by three ambassadors, one of whom was Lefort; the letters to him were to be addressed to "Peter Mikhailof." The seal he took with him represented a young carpenter surrounded with his tools, with this inscription: "My rank is that of a schoolboy, and I have need of masters." Waliszewski gives the most minute details concerning the progress of Peter in Germany, in Holland, and in England. Two hundred and fifty persons formed his suite. Lefort alone had eleven gentlemen, seven pages, fifteen valets, six musicians, four dwarfs. Officially, the ambassadors were to solicit from all the sovereigns of Europe "a renewal of the ancient ties of friendship, with a view to weakening the enemies of the Christian name." These terms imply already the opening of the Eastern question. The ambassadors were bound to deny officially the presence of the young Tsar among them.

Saardam and the house of the carpenter Tsar have become the objects of a sort of pilgrimage; but only since the end of the eighteenth century. "Historically, most of the details consecrated by tradition in relation to the sojourn of Peter in the neighborhood of Amsterdam have no reality. It is not certain that he ever inhabited the house which has been piously preserved to our time. . . . All the houses which border the little canal that is a tributary of the Y resemble each other to a tile."

Voltaire, and his friends after him, have followed Peter hour by hour at Saardam; they have seen him making his bed, preparing his meals, constructing with his own hands the model of a ship, the model of a wind-mill; they have seen him working in the yards, with carpenter's tools in his hand, visiting all the manufacturers of the neighborhood. They have kept him in Saardam, to do all this, for two years. The truth is that he remained there eight days. He struck the minds of the people by his eccentric ways and his costume. The legend was born and has superseded history. Even Napoleon visited the more or less authentic little house at Saardam; Alexander I. set up a marble memorial at this humble cradle of Russia's greatness. At Amsterdam, the burgomaster Nicholas Witsen, who had once visited Russia and written a book upon Tartary, and was a correspondent of Lefort, opened for Peter the great workshops of the East India Company. Peter visited The Hague; his curiosity was insatiable; he entered every factory he met, and would handle the machinery; he studied architecture, printing, anatomy, learned to use every possible instrument; he constructed a frigate, a bed, a Russian bath; he cooked his own food; he learned the art of engraving. "There is evidently in all this," says M. Waliszewski, "more fever than reflection, much caprice, even a little madness. . . . With the universality of his genius, Napoleon never pretended to be a great doctor or to make etchings; he specialized his practical knowledge. However, in acting as he did, Peter . . . was preparing himself admirably for the true work which was waiting for him, and which was to be, not the construction of a ship, of a factory, or of a palace, but the installation of a whole civilization."

In January, 1690, the young Tsar left for England. He had already met William III. at Utrecht and at The Hague. Admiral Mitchell and Lord Caermarthen, a great brandy-drinker, were attached to his person. He lived either in Buckingham Street, in the Strand, or in Norfolk Street—there is some uncertainty which. He visited William at Kensington, had a long conversation with him in the Dutch language, showed himself very attentive to Princess Anne, and was pleased with her. He visited the Mint, the Observatory, the Royal Society. He did not care for pictures, but allowed Kneller to take his portrait, which is kept at Hampton Court and is the best there is of him. He spent most of his time at Deptford, where he lived as a carpenter, smoking his pipe and taking his glass of ale in a tavern which till 1808 kept its name of the Tsar's Tavern. He enlisted, while he was at Deptford, a number of workmen and engineers for Russia, gave concessions, made the plans for a canal between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea. He spent, in all, three months in England. The legend will have it that, before leaving, he gave William a rough diamond enveloped in a dirty paper.

Correspondence.

THE TAX ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The framers of our tariff have received credit for removing, after some consideration of their own, and more protests from others, the tax upon knowledge which was at one time proposed. They at last allowed to enter the United States free of customs duty "books printed exclusively in a language other than English."

Until now I have not known that section 502 of the Act of July 24, 1897, is so construed as to admit French novels without the payment of duty, but to demand 25 per cent. ad valorem for learned works of which the title and preface are in English. I have before me a book on which duty has just been paid—a concordance to Homer's 'Odyssey,' 419 pages of closely printed Greek, without a single English word. That a title and preface of one page have been prefixed to tell what the book is—a sort of label or tag—is held to except the book from the privileges of books in foreign languages. More reasonable in my opinion would be the taxing of a foreign book if it happened to contain a single English quotation. This decision may interest others than myself.

Another curious instance of the operation of the rule has come to my knowledge. A colleague of mine, a few months ago, allowed one of his smaller scientific works to be translated into the Japanese language, and furnished a brief preface as a greeting to the Japanese reader. When the author received by mail last week a complimentary copy of his work in its Japanese form, the book was held for the payment of customs duties because the *preface* had not been translated, but had been left in English. In this case, of course, the *title* was in Japanese. At last, however, the collector saw the absurdity of the situation, and on the pretext that no one in the country knew the cost of the volume in Japan, he allowed the book to be delivered without payment of duty.

Z.

[We append the text of the decision of

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the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, dated September 30.—Ed. Nation.]

"In reply to your letter of the 27th instant, I have to state that a book printed in a foreign language with the exception of the title-page and the preface is not exempt from duty, such book not being printed *exclusively* in a language other than English, as prescribed in paragraph 502 of the act of July 24, 1897."

LABORERS AND THEIR FARE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: My attention has been called this morning for the first time to your reference in the *Nation*, under the date of September 9 of this year, to the second chapter of my book, 'The Workers,' which is appearing in serial form in *Scribner's Magazine*.

I beg leave to express my indebtedness for a most pertinent criticism. I see at once that, from my statements, the very natural inference might be drawn that the skilled laborers who constituted a large part of the company of men with whom I walked to my first day's work as an unskilled laborer, were also of the company of men with whom I worked. This, in point of fact, was not the case. There was much work in progress in and about West Point that summer, and the skilled workmen were employed at their own trades at a daily wage of four dollars ($4.00) for eight hours' work.

In the gang of laborers with which I worked there were men, who claimed to be skilled workmen, who were unable to find work at their trades. I had reason, however, to doubt the truth of this statement in the majority of cases. The four men, besides myself, who boarded with Mrs. Flaherty were skilled workmen, and all but one of these, and he a weaver from the north of Ireland, had work at their trades, and received the wages that I have indicated.

We paid five dollars ($5.00) a week for our board. "Juicy sirloin" was by no means the rule in the matter of meat, but we had meat three times a day, and it was usually excellent. My whole experience in this particular bears out the fact that workingmen in this country fare handsomely. Some of the men who belonged to the gang in which I worked camped out near the post, and did their own cooking. How they fared I had no opportunity of judging.

Allow me to thank you once more for a criticism which shows most plainly a want of criticism in my statements. I shall try to correct the defect in the book form. With regard to the truth of my story, I am glad to be able to assure you that, in my narrative, I have followed facts exactly as I found them.—Yours sincerely,

Walter A. Wyckoff.

Princeton University, October 6, 1897.

SOMETHING FURTHER ABOUT JAMES BLOXHAM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is quite true, as stated in a recent issue of the *Nation* by Mr. Wilbur C. Abbott, under the heading "Some Unpublished Washington Letters," that none of the editors of Washington's Writings have published aught about James Bloxham beyond the letter of George Washington to Arthur Young; but among the treasures in the Department of State can be found the history of this "James Bloxham, Farmer," in a nutshell. The first paper relating to him is entirely in Washington's familiar and strongly characteristic chirography, and sets forth the compensation, duties, privileges, and penalties of the situation James Bloxham was to fill; in other words, it is the *Articles of Agreement* given *verbatim et literatim* below. It contains six examples of a striking feature of the contracts drawn up by Washington: whenever he was compelled to write his own name in the body of a document it was always done in his ordinary handwriting, and was noticeably dissimilar from the same name as written for his signature. The seals opposite the two signatures are small lozenges of writing paper attached to the document by red wafers. The witness, Geo. Washington, was George Augustine Washington, the nephew of and at one time the manager for the General. The text of the Agreement is as follows:

Articles of Agreement entered into this 31st day of May in the year 1786 between George Washington Esqr of the County of Fairfax and Commonwealth of Virginia of the one part, and James Bloxham lately from the Shire of Gloucester in the Kingdom of England, Farmer of the other part Witnesseth, That the said James Bloxham for and in consideration of the Wages, allowances, and priviledges hereinafter mentioned, doth agree with and oblige himself to serve, the said George Washington for the space of one year; to commence the first day of the present Month, in the capacity of a Farmer and Manager of such parts of Husbandry, as shall be committed to his charge; and will, to the utmost of his skill and abilities, order & direct the same (with the approbation of the said George Washington) to the best advantage.—That he will at all times, and upon all occasions, suggest such plans for the improvement of the said Washington's Farms, and the stocks of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, &c^{a} which are on them as to him shall appear most conducive to his interest.—Will keep regular Acc^{ts} of the said Stock—and will strictly observe & follow all such orders and directions as he shall, from time to time receive from his said employer; for this, and for other purposes.—That when thereunto required, he will buy, at the expence of the said Washington, Cattle, or Sheep for feeding, or for Store; and will dispose of the same, or any others, to the best advantage; attending particularly to the care & management of the Stock of every kind, both in Winter & Summer—as well those for the use and benefit of the Farms, and for family consumption, as those which may be fatted for Market.—That he will use his utmost endeavours to encrease, and properly distribute, the Manure on the farms; and also will improve to the best of his judgment, the impliments of husbandry necessary thereto—and will instruct, as occasion may require, and opportunities offer, the labourers therein how to Plow, Sow, Mow, Reap, Thatch, Ditch, Hedge &c^{a} in the best manner.—And generally, that he will consider the said Washington's interest as his own, and use his true endeavour to promote it accordingly. In consideration whereof the said George Washington doth agree to pay the said Jam^{s} Blo^{x}ham Fifty Guineas for his year's Services, to be compleated on the first day of May, 1787; and will allow him the said Bloxham, ten guineas besides, towards defraying the expences of bringing his Wife and family to this Country.—That when they shall have arrived, he will provide him, & them a decent and comfortable House to reside in, by themselves; will lend them two Cows for Milk—a Sow to raise Pigs for their own eating (but not to sell) and give them as much Bran as is sufficient to brew Beer for his family's use.—And moreover, will allow them for the part of the year which will remain after the arrival of his family and leaving his present board, at the rate of Six hundred pounds of Pork or Beef, and Eight hundred pounds of Middling Flour, per annum;—and likewise a piece of ground sufficient for a Garden, and firewood.—The said George Washington also agrees to provide the said James Bloxham with a horse to ride on for the purpose of superintending the business herein required—or, if the said Bloxham shall find his own horse, to allow pasturage, & reasonable feed for him.—Lastly it is agreed between the said George Washington & James Bloxham, that if the said James should not return to England at the expiration of the year for which he now engages, and his conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the said George Washington, that then and in those cases, his wages for the next year shall be Sixty Guineas; and the other allowances and priviledges the same as those of the present year. In testimony of all, and each of these Articles and for the full and perfect compliance therewith, the parties to these presents hath interchangeably set their hands and seals, and to the other, doth bind himself in the sum of One hundred pounds Curr^{t} money of Virginia, the day and year first written.

Signed, Sealed &c^{a}

in the presence of Geo: Washington — G^{o} Washington [s.]

James Bloxham [s.]

Turning to Washington's large book of accounts, we are able to glean the name of Bloxham's wife (Mary); the actual length of his service (four years and one month); the day when he set up his household gods in America (June 9, 1787); the fondness of his family for meat and fish; and the date of final settlement of his account (June 1, 1790). The entries in this book are in various hands, as Washington himself or a private secretary attended to this part of the daily routine. Bloxham's account is found in two parts of the book, on page 237 and again on page 303. One notes the punctilious change from "James Bloxham (Farmer)" of the first or "old" account while he was serving Washington in that capacity, to the "Mr. James Bloxham" of the second or "new" account, which runs on for one year and six days after he ceased to attend to the Mount Vernon farms.

Concerning the Col. Fitzgerald of the first account, to whom in November, 1786, Washington paid eleven shillings freight of Bloxham's chest, etc., Washington gives the following interesting item in his diary for 1788:

"*Sunday, November 2d*, M^{r} George Mason came here to dinner and returned in the Evening—After dinner word was bro^{t} from Alexandria that the Minister of France was arrived there and intended down here to dinner—Accordingly, a little before Sun setting, he (the Count de Moustiers) his Sister the Marchioness de Breton [Brienne]—the Marquis her Son and M^{r} du Ponts came in.

"*Monday 3d.* Remained at home all day.—Col^{o} Fitzgerald & Doct^{r} Craik came down to dinner—& with a copy of an address (which the Citizens of Alexandria meant to present to the Minister) waited on him to know when he would receive it."

Many interesting items may be gathered from these old account-books, whose entries preserve the names of those with whom Washington had business relations; they also shed much light on the customs and habits of the times, and are models of neatness and accuracy.

Mary Stevens Beall.

Washington, October 4, 1897.

Notes.

We are glad to learn that Dr. Horace Howard Furness has completed another volume of his Variorum Edition of Shakspere's Plays, viz., "A Winter's Tale," which Lippincott will bring out in the course of a few months.

Charles Scribner's Sons will publish on this side of the water a posthumous work of Mrs. Oliphant's, the 'Annals' of the publishing house of William Blackwood & Sons of Edinburgh. They will also have a share in

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Messrs. Dent's "Temple Waverley" for the pocket, and will put their imprint on Robert Louis Stevenson's 'St. Ives: The Adventures of a French Prisoner in England.'

Dr. Edward Dowden is the author of 'French Literature,' the volume next to appear in Appletons' "Literature of the World" series.

B. H. Russell's fall announcements include 'The People of Dickens,' a portfolio of photogravures and copper etchings by C. D. Gibson; 'Drawings by Frederic Remington,' illustrating wild life in America; 'The Blackberries,' humorous drawings in color by E. W. Kemble; 'Phil May's Sketchbook'; a portfolio of twelve photogravures by Alfred Stieglitz, 'Picturesque Bits of New York, and Other Studies'; and 'Going to War in Greece,' by Frederick Palmer, with sixty photographic illustrations.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. will issue immediately 'Self-Cultivation in English,' by Prof. George Herbert Palmer of Harvard University.

Ginn & Co. have nearly ready a 'Course in German Composition, Conversation, and Grammar Review,' by Dr. Wilhelm Bernhardt.

William Patton, Philadelphia, is about to publish 'The Graphic Age: a Biographical and Historical Souvenir of the Calligraphic and Typographic Arts.'

'Men in Epigram,' and 'With a Pessimist in Spain,' by Miss Mary F. Nixon, are promised shortly by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

Dr. A. Rose, 126 East Twenty-ninth Street, New York, solicits subscriptions to a work on 'Christian Greece and Living Greek,' with a plea for Greek as the international language of physicians and scholars in general.

The "Oxford University Press, American Branch," has just been incorporated, Mr. Henry Frowde being the President. The business will be carried on by a staff of American citizens, some of whom are stockholders.

The lapse of ten years might be thought to have detracted somewhat from the value of that coöperative work, 'The American Railway' (Scribners), and its freshness has naturally been impaired. Its reissue, nevertheless, implies a demand for it, and the larger part of this popular presentation, with its numerous excellent pictorial illustrations, has still power to interest and instruct. The same publishers have brought out a uniform edition, in five gayly covered volumes, of Mrs. Burnett's stories of and for children, 'Little Lord Fauntleroy' and the rest, of which it would be superfluous to speak; and have once more cut the cable of Mr. Stockton's 'Rudder Grange,' freighted with Mr. Frost's illustrations. Finally, the elaborate "Outward Bound" edition of Kipling's works is continued with 'The Naulahka,' in which the elder Kipling's relief illustrations show him at his best.

From Macmillan we have the fifth annual issue of the useful 'Handbook of Graduate Courses,' edited at Cambridge, Mass., for the Federation of Graduate Clubs; a revised translation of Zola's 'Lourdes,' in two trim and handy volumes; three more of the Dent translations (among the best, and in manufacture quite the most elegant) from Balzac—his 'Cousin Betty,' 'Seraphita,' and 'The Seamy Side of History'; 'The Rivals,' in the little "Temple Dramatists"; and, above all, one might say, Chapman's 'Odyssey,' in two pocket volumes, in the "Temple Classics."

The 'Life of James Macdonell, Journalist,' by W. Robertson Nicoll, which was reviewed in these columns on its appearance in England in 1890, is now republished in this country by Dodd, Mead & Co. Mr. Macdonell's work as editorial writer for the London *Times* was of a high order, but it is chiefly on account of his character that American journalists may be advised to read his life. They will find in it a more exalted standard than that commonly presented to them, as well as some warnings concerning overwork that should be heeded.

Mr. F. G. Kitton's 'Novels of Charles Dickens' in the "Book-Lover's Library" series, edited by H. B. Wheatley (Armstrong), is a timely contribution to the Dickens revival. In some 250 pages Mr. Kitton sketches Dickens's literary career, and relates his publishing adventures with his novels. On the side of bibliography, much information is given as to the value of early editions which should appeal to book-collectors, while here and there the editor has been able to give us fresh items of personal history furnished by the surviving friends of Dickens. With these exceptions, the substance of the book is derived from Forster's 'Life.'

Henry C. Shelley's 'The Ayrshire Homes and Haunts of Burns' (Putnams) is unequally divided between a brief survey of the poet's territory and extracts from his poems, embellished with local photographs taken by the author; the whole prettily bound.

Prof. Miall's presence, as one of the sectional presidents, at the August meeting of the British Association in Toronto, will no doubt add to the number of readers of his recent book, 'Thirty Years of Teaching: Reprinted, with Additions, from the [London] *Journal of Education*' (Macmillan & Co.). The contents of this very neat little volume are so varied that it is difficult to say just what class of teachers will be most benefited by it. It will probably interest those engaged in scientific work more than others, but it is to be recommended to all—not as a work bearing any great message to the profession, but rather as a help in revising one's own methods and views of educational questions.

'The Gist of Japan,' by Dr. R. B. Peery of the Lutheran American Mission at Saga in Hizen (Fleming H. Revell Co.), is a capital book of accurate information, well illustrated, and full of common sense. In sixteen short and well-constructed chapters, the author, rich in reading of the best authorities and in actual experience, tells of the people and their country and of Christian mission work. The tone is that of a catholic mind, and of a modest and scholarly person who is charitable and cautious. As a nation does not grow in a day, so neither is judgment to be hastily formed or quickly passed upon a people with such marked characteristics as the Japanese. We learn that they control the camphor trade of the world, have a prejudice against cats having tails, are trying to shed all their mythology except that which relates to their Emperor's ancestry; that sheep are curiosities to be seen only in menageries, and that the climate is damp and ozoneless. We also have a luminous discussion of morals and religion by one not swift to be satisfied with his own judgments and very slow to condemn. No other book, not even Dr. Gordon's 'American Missionary in Japan,' discusses so fully, so honestly, and so luminously the missionary work and problems. Certainly all zealous youth and candidates for appointments as converters of the Buddhists ought to read Dr. Peery's chapters. Notwithstanding the author's insight into the difficulties on the surface and in the depths, his tone is one of imperturbable faith in the final victory of Christianity in Japan. We have found no error of importance, but there is no excuse for lack of an index in a work like this.

In a finely printed quarto of nearly 600 pages, the heirs of the late Dr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould have just presented to astronomers the substantial completion of the photographic work undertaken by him twenty-five years ago at the Argentine National Observatory in Cordoba. Although Dr. Gould did not live to see the completion of this task of his inception, still all had been so nearly finished that, with Dr. Chandler's supervision, the whole is now brought forth in entire harmony with the original plan. On Dr. Gould's first going to the southern hemipshere, celestial photography had not yet yielded tangible results in the line of accurate stellar positions, chiefly because the now familiar dry plates were not then available. Much pioneering thus was matter of necessity; and the misfortunes and obstacles that beset his endeavors were most astonishing—not the least of them a broken object-glass, the death of two photographers from pulmonary disease, and of a third from a stroke of lightning. The Argentine National Government has, however, supplied the necessary funds, for preparation and publication, and the finished volume now before us, really monumental in character, gives the accurate positions of nearly 10,000 stars, with a chapter devoted to each of 37 stellar clusters, mostly in the southern celestial hemisphere and invisible to observatories generally in the United States. The conclusion of a significant labor like this, in a field by no means yet overworked, may well induce pride, not only in the astronomers whose patient faithfulness has conducted it through all these years, but in the enlightened officials of a sister republic whose helpful generosity alone has made it possible.

We feel assured that students and younger teachers of French, of both sexes, will be greatly interested in Dr. E. Koschwitz's 'Anleitung zum Studium der französischen Philologie' (Marburg: Elwert; New York: Lemcke & Buechner). The little book is astonishingly practical for one coming from the pen of such a distinguished scholar as Prof. Koschwitz. It is intended for Germans, but there are a hundred hints that will prove useful to students of any nationality, especially those intending to study in foreign countries. The author's desire to be helpful to women students also, and the pains he has taken in gathering information for their benefit, even such as regards boarding-places in French and Swiss cities, expenses, etc., deserve especial recognition.

A monograph on the states of the western Sudan, by Dr. P. C. Meyer, is published as a supplemental number of *Petermann's Mitteilungen*. It is prefaced by a bibliography of the literature of the subject and a chronological list of explorations from the earliest times to 1896. A condensed account of the history, ethnology, commerce, and industries

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of each of the twenty separate states or races is given with numerous references to the sources of information. It is accompanied by three maps showing the race and political divisions, and the trade routes. These are so arranged as to indicate the nationality of the traders, as well as the character and direction of their business. The trade route from Lake Chad to Tripoli, for instance, is used by Arabs and Moors to carry north slaves, grain, and native cotton goods, the south-bound caravans bringing salt and European wares. The regular number, eight, of the *Mittcilungen* contains a map with notes showing the boundary between Chili and Argentina in Tierra del Fuego, a description of the river basins of Africa, and a short account of explorations to the west of Lake Tanganyika with a map.

A bibliography of geographical literature for the year 1896 is contained in the September number of the *Annales de Géographie*. The titles of 1,021 works and important articles in periodicals and scientific publications are given under subject-headings with descriptive notes signed by the writers, among whom are Dr. H. R. Mill of London and Prof. W. M. Davis of Harvard University. The list is practically complete for the lesser known parts of Asia and Africa, while for the other countries only works or articles of a scientific character are entered. There are useful indexes of authors and subjects.

Only twenty-six years have elapsed since the railway was built up the Rigi, and today Switzerland has forty-six mountain railroads. The most popular of them at present is that up the Wengern Alp, from Interlaken, via Lauterbrunnen or Grindelwald. A few years ago there were only a few small hotels near Wengern; this summer 700 guests jostled each other in the new hotels, while some of the other resorts complained of a lack of tourists. The Wengern Alp owes its present vogue not only to the wonderful view it affords of the Jungfrau snowfields and frequent avalanches, but to the fact that it is the starting-point of the much-discussed Jungfrau railway, the length of which, from the Scheidegg, is conveniently reduced to 6,000 feet. On December 21, 1894, permission to build was granted by the Swiss Bundesrath by a vote of 25 to 3. No time was lost in beginning, and this summer the electric works were visible to all visitors in the Lauterbrunnen valley. The road itself will not be visible, for most of it will be through tunnels, and where it comes to view it will be so small an object on the gigantic sides of the mountain that a good telescope will be needed to find it. The motive power will be electricity, and the tunnelling also will be done with electric power. The total expenses are estimated at $2,000,000.

The railway from Chemulpo to Séoul, or from the chief seaport to the capital of Korea, is now under construction by American engineers, who employ native labor under Japanese and Korean bosses. One cutting is over forty feet deep and several hundred feet long. The bridge over the Han River will have a total length of 2,450 feet; 1,650 feet being the length of the iron trusses, and 800 feet that of the wooden trestling. The road will be twenty-five miles long, and of the standard gauge. The iron and steel work, locomotives, and even the frame of the Séoul station, were made in the United States.

Dr. Dörpfeld reports that the mouth of the new grotto recently discovered by Kabbadias on the northern slope of the Acropolis and east of the grottoes of Apollo and Pan was walled up during the middle ages. This grotto lies immediately below the mediæval rock-cut steps on the Acropolis northwest of the Erechtheion. The bottom of these steps is connected with the grotto below by means of a perpendicular shaft, in which there were never any steps. Accordingly, it seems clear that a wooden ladder must have been used to facilitate ingress and egress. No antique remains were found in the neighborhood of the grotto.

Skias has been conducting excavations on the left bank of the Ilissus in the neighborhood of the Kallirrhoe. About one hundred steps from the spring he discovered the foundations of the celebrated "Ionic temple on the Ilissus," which was seen and drawn by Stuart and Revett in the last century. Thereafter the temple disappeared, and its destruction was so complete that the present ruins would scarcely be regarded as the foundations of a temple but for the drawings of Stuart and Revett, with which they correspond exactly. Dörpfeld regards this as the temple of Artemis Agrotera, which Pausanias mentions immediately after he had crossed the Ilissus, and before he turned towards the Stadium.

—In the current number the *Atlantic Monthly* celebrates its fortieth anniversary, and the editor in a few pages recounts the history of its years. There is not much in what he says that is new, but it is pleasant reading. He stands up manfully for the present as compared with the past, and maintains that (except in poetry) there is no real decline in "the literary work done in the United States to-day." He admits, however, that we have "no single group of men of such genius as the group that contributed to the early numbers." But we must not be too exacting; if every generation produced a group such as Hawthorne, Emerson, Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes, and Whittier, letters would become too common, like air and water. One statement the editor makes which has now been repeated very often, as an explanation of our seeming decadence—that, "as a result of the spread of culture, no man of less than the very highest rank can now hold as prominent a position as a man of the same qualities held when good writers were fewer." This means that there has been a multiplication of, and a widening of the market for, authors of the second or lower ranks so great that no one of these can get the attention he formerly would have got. But does the "spread of culture" produce this result? Has not the spread of culture on the contrary made this the heyday of second-rate authors? and is it not one of the peculiarities of our day that we continually see a second-rate man temporarily elevated to the position of a great light in the literary world, and bowed down to and worshipped and puffed, while the crowd passes his superiors unnoticed by? In the number for October, perhaps the most original article is that on "French Mastery of Style," by F. Brunetière. Both this and Mr. H. D. Sedgwick, jr.'s, notice of D'Annunzio point in a direction which some readers will regard as conservative, others as novel. We do not know of any word for it other than anti-fatalist, or individualist, criticism. There can be little doubt that, ever since the announcement of Taine's celebrated formula, the trend of literary criticism has been to minimize the weight of the individual will as a factor in letters, and to subordinate the character of every writer to the influences of race, epoch, and "milieu" under which he writes. This is all nonsense, says M. Brunetière, and to prove it he takes the French language and style as proof. The fatalist view is that the French language "grew" by some internal law into the wonderful organ of style and expression we know it to be. No, says M. Brunetière, it was made consciously by the French, adapting it to these ends purposely, and changing it from a speech of a different sort with this very object in view. An interesting African article is contributed by Henry M. Stanley, who blows the bellows for the equatorial part of it. Without wishing to speak disrespectfully of the equator, it seems to be still hard to get people to settle on it in any great numbers.

—Among the most entertaining papers in *Scribner's* are those on the "Conduct of Great Businesses." In that magazine for October Mr. J. Lincoln Steffens writes about newspapers, his article being accompanied by illustrations by W. R. Leigh. He insists upon the contrast between the modern newspaper, which he describes as a mere commercial speculation, and the newspaper of an earlier day, in which he thinks editorial opinion played so much more important a part. But it is worth while to remember that the present craze about "news" as the foundation of newspaper prosperity is to a great extent factitious. Three-quarters, if not nine-tenths, of the news of the day is furnished to so many newspapers that there is little or no exclusive property in any one of those which have a right to a share in the supply furnished by the various agencies; so that the reason why one paper is selected by the buyer rather than another is some sympathy with its opinions, or that general tone which is but the reflection of the mind of the person in control. In other words, a paper is bought to be read: and as it is impossible to print without advancing or showing that you hold opinions of some kind, what really floats a newspaper and gives its only lasting hold on its readers is suitability to their minds. It is a consequence of this that some of the most valuable newspaper properties are those which are read by the people who have the best minds—mind being generally found among possessors of property, and possessors of property being those for whom it is best worth while to advertise. No one will advertise brown-stone houses, or grand pianos, or expensive books extensively in a paper with a million circulation, if they know perfectly well that most of the million have no idea where they are going to get their next meal. Mr. Henry Norman contributes an article on "The Wreck of Greece" (illustrated), and shows that part of the disaster was due to not following his advice.

—Naval strategists will be interested in Capt. Mahan's article in *Harper's* on "The Strategic Features of the Gulf of Mexico and the Carribbean Sea"; but for the wayfaring layman the popular scientific article by Henry Smith Williams, M.D., will prove as entertaining as anything in the number. It is on "The Century's Progress in Chemistry," and is one of a series which will, we suppose, be published as a book. Most

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people not chemists have heard something of the extraordinary course of inquiry which has led the chemists of our day into fields of investigation recalling the researches of the alchemists, the transmutation of metals, and the quest of the philosopher's stone. When the hero of Locksley Hall, "nourishing a youth sublime with the fairy tales of science," foresaw "the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be," he predicted, like most prophets, a good many things that have not happened at all, and failed to foresee most of the wonder that science was to reveal. Certainly in this department Dr. Smith is very cautious in his statements, but his résumé is a wonderful story, and leaves us face to face with the theory that we are on the eve of discovering that "single, unique form of primordial matter" out of which the diverse cosmos has been fabricated.

—In the *Century* Mr. Theodore Roosevelt takes a leaf out of his enemy's book. His "Roll of Honor of the New York Police" (illustrated by Jay Hambidge) is a vindication of the claims of peace to produce victories of energy, daring, discipline, hardihood, and bodily prowess no less remarkable than those of war. It comes very naturally from him as the late head of the New York police force, but his enumeration of the soldier's virtues shows that his Jingo leanings have produced a curious confusion in his mind on the subject of what the Romans called *virtus*. What his examples of police heroism really prove is, that every quality that could make a man count in the world comes out in peaceful occupations, except pugnacity, or the desire for physical conflict as an end in itself. This a good fighting man must have, just as a bulldog, a game-cock, or a prize-fighter must have it. But it is not part of the outfit of a good patrolman. The price we pay for peace (or, as we should say, one of the rewards of peace) is the tempering of this quality, and not, as Mr. Roosevelt says, "a certain softening of national and civil fibre," which, "if carried too far, would be very serious indeed." It is luxury and ease which produces this softening, as we see in the Dude and the *Gigerl*, not peace; and we want no better proof than the facts marshalled in this article. In fact, Mr. Roosevelt, in it, rolls the very altar of the great god Jingo over in the dust. "Wild Animals in a New England Game-Park" is a valuable account, with illustrations, of the Corbin Game Preserve, a vast New Hampshire property, of 26,000 acres, bought up by the late Austin Corbin. "Abandoned farms" formed the bulk of it, and a grotesque sight it must often be to see a buffalo cow chewing her cud in the old apple-orchard, or a wapiti encouraging her young to approach the chain-pump. But the forest is rapidly reappearing, and the traces of the agricultural period will soon vanish. The writer mentions also Mr. W. C. Whitney's park in Berkshire, Mass., and several others in different parts of the country.

—Chief among the foreign guests at the dedication of the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago next week (October 18-22) will be M. Henri Deslandres of Paris, well known for his researches upon the spectra of the sun and stars and as chief of two eclipse expeditions, one to Japan last year and the other to Africa in 1893, when he discovered the rotation of the sun's corona. The principal addresses will be given on the morning of October 21 by Prof. Keeler of Allegheny, on the "Importance of Astrophysical Research, and the Relation of Astrophysics to Other Physical Sciences," and on the afternoon of October 22 by Prof. Newcomb, on "Aspects of Modern Astronomy." The University has provided a special train to convey the Trustees and official guests from Chicago to the Observatory at Williams Bay, Wis., where the dedication exercises are to be held. Following Prof. Keeler's address, Mr. Charles T. Yerkes, the generous donor, will make the presentation, and President Harper the address of acceptance. In the evening of Thursday will occur the banquet to the visiting men of science; and on Friday, a reception to Mr. and Mrs. Yerkes, the visitors, and members of the Observatory staff. Prof. Hale, the able and energetic director of this new institution, has arranged a programme of conferences on physics and astronomy, extending through dedication week, and they will be participated in by Profs. Pickering, Hough, Barnard, Comstock, Stone, Crew, and many others among American scientists, and Prof. Runge of Hanover, Germany, who will review the evidence of oxygen in the sun. On the evenings of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, Profs. Hale, Burnham, and Barnard will give exhibitions of numerous celestial objects with the great forty-inch telescope.

—Much interest is manifested by scientists in the giant "iron-stone" which, after two ineffectual efforts, Mr. Peary has succeeded in removing from the shores of northwestern Greenland to this country. This block of planetary rock (for such it assuredly is, whether it be determined to be meteorite or tellurite) is roughly estimated to weigh 100 tons, and it so completely surpasses in size all other known specimens of its kind as virtually to dwarf them in any scale of comparison. Its abiding-place for probably many centuries, if not for hundreds of thousands of years, has been a locality on the borders of Melville Bay, not many miles east of Cape York; but, despite its proximity to a route almost annually followed by whalers, it had escaped discovery until two years ago, when Mr. Peary located the prize, which had been the object of search and inquiry by almost every expedition which has followed the Smith Sound route since the days of Sir John Ross. In its structural character the mass is described as having the appearance of nickelized steel, an appearance not wholly unlike that of some of the famous Ovifak stones or irons discovered in 1870 by Nordenskjöld on the southern shore of the island of Disko, and concerning the nature of which there has been much scientific and not a little bitter discussion. By their first discoverer these irons were unhesitatingly referred to the class of meteorites, and this view is supported by the composition of metallic iron and nickel, as well as by the exhibition of the well-known Widmannstättian figures on an etched surface. The more special researches of Lawrence Smith and Steenstrup have led to a conclusion very wide of Nordenskjöld's, and to the recognition of a class of bodies, the tellurite, whose origin is assumed to be the deep metalliferous depths of our own planet. The close association of the Ovifak irons with the basalt masses which largely build up the island of Disko, and the occurrence of smaller, even granular, parts exhibiting the supposed distinctive etched figures in the lava mass itself, were to many geologists evidence conclusive of their telluric origin, although up to that time no terrestrial objects of that precise nature had been known. On the other hand, it has been justly contended that the association of these singular bodies with basalts was not necessarily an indication of volcanic (or plutonic) origin, since a meteoric shower, occurring in a region and at a time of lava discharges, must perforce have deposited much of its material in the flowing liquid magma, thence to be subsequently liberated by atmospheric decay or water erosion. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Cape York finds were not obtained from a region of lava discharges, and in so far they distinctly argue in favor of an extra-terrestrial production.

—By the terms of the treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela, the four arbitrators named in it, namely, Chief Justice Fuller and Judge Brewer of the United States, nominated by Venezuela, and Lord Herschell (ex-Lord Chancellor of England), and Sir Henn Collins, a judge of the High Court of Judicature, nominated by Great Britain, have agreed to have as the fifth member of their court Feodor Feodorovitch Martens, the famous international jurist, who will accordingly be President of the Court of Arbitration at its sittings in Paris. Prof. Martens is a Russian by nationality, and is in the prime of manhood. His great works have been a collection of 'Treaties and Conventions' made by Russia with other countries, and a treatise upon international law. He has written also upon the law affecting consuls, and a political study of the relations of Russia and China. It will not be charged against President Martens that he will unduly favor British claims, when it is borne in mind that he is the author of 'La Question Égyptienne et le Droit International,' and of a monograph upon Russia and England in Central Asia. The Court of Arbitration cannot, by the provisions of the Treaty of Washington, meet until the month of November, 1898. Meanwhile, those concerned in getting up the respective cases are actively employed in preparing their statements. The results must throw a flood of light upon the history of Guiana, which has hitherto been involved in almost Cimmerian darkness.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE GOETHE SOCIETY.

Both of the annual publications of the Goethe Gesellschaft are now in the hands of its members: the eighteenth volume of the *Jahrbuch*, and the eleventh volume of the *Schriften*. The latter is an interesting innovation. It is a large folio, containing seventy-eight settings of the songs of Goethe, composed by the poet's contemporaries. Dr. Max Friedlaender, one of the leading authorities on the music of the eighteenth century, is the editor of this volume, and he has supplied it with notes of more than usual instructiveness. Prof. Suphan, the indefatigable director of the Goethe-Schiller archives, has written the general introduction. This work adds another telling touch to the picture which, through these annual publications, the society is gradually constructing of Goethe in the midst of his fellow-men and in his relations to the most diverse interests of his time. In February, 1896, the tenth volume of the *Schriften* was

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noticed in these columns; it was an album of reproductions from Goethe's own portfolio, including several portraits which he had had made by Schmeller of personal friends and distinguished visitors to Weimar. A collection of the poet's own drawings constituted the third volume, and Prof. Suphan assures us that the treasures of this domestic storehouse are "schier unerschöpflich." Lovers of Goethe may, therefore, look forward to an indefinite number of years, each of which will bring some new item of instruction and some new object of delight out of the poet's home environment.

Goethe's love of music is well known. Musicians as well as poets and artists looked to him for inspiration, approval, and encouragement. His house was the centre to which were attracted the creative spirits in all branches of art, and none was more welcome than the genius which expressed itself in music. In music Goethe found the highest element of art manifested in its highest degree, the demonic. The demonic, in his parlance, is that elusive quality in a work of art which produces a profound emotion, but which is not susceptible of analysis by the reason or the understanding. "Music," he once said, "occupies a place so high that the understanding cannot get at it, and it exerts a moving power that dominates all else; for this power the reason cannot account." This is the demonic in its purest form; but since neither the reason nor the understanding can touch the demonic, an appeal to these faculties cannot injure music, but only add new elements of beauty and interest. Apropos of Rossini's "Moses," Goethe could not comprehend the attitude of mind that could praise the music and condemn the text—how sweet tones could please the ear while the absurdest actions offended the eye. In our own day Goethe would have been chief among the admirers of Wagner, whose demonic control of our emotions is rendered the more absolute by his constant and subtle appeal to the intellectual faculties; but Goethe lived only to see the beginning of the great age of dramatic song-composers.

In this collection of songs by his contemporaries there are six settings of the "Erlkönig," three of them commonplace and unimaginative. One, by Bernhard Klein, a young composer who died in the same year as the poet, shows the true dramatic conception; the deep voice of the fast-riding father alternates with the anxious questionings of the child, while the wooing persuasions of the elfin king are sung in one unvaried tone (an idea suggested by Zelter) to an exquisite accompaniment, culminating in a few quick crashing chords that thrill with the fairy's threat. It is a song fit to stand beside Loewe's fine composition of 1817 and Schubert's immortal work written two years earlier. Indeed, one of the chief features of interest in this publication is the opportunity it affords of comparing different conceptions of the same poem. There are, for instance, five settings of "Das Veilchen," five of "An den Mond," four of "Mignon," and four of the "Heidenröslein," etc. It would be an undertaking well worth his while if Dr. Friedlaender would extend the scope of his comparisons, and include the best settings of Goethe's most famous lyrics composed by men of a later time. Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and Berlioz are the great names in the present collection. One of Goethe's youthful poems, "Mit einem gemalten Bande," which was written about the time of Beethoven's birth, was set to music by the latter in 1811, and it is interesting to note that the opening bars contain the world-celebrated theme from the last movement of the ninth symphony, where they reappear eleven years later in the same key, set to the words of Schiller's "Lied an die Freude." There is also an exquisite setting to the lines of Faust, "O schaud're nicht," composed by that versatile child of genius, the friend both of Beethoven and of Goethe, Bettina von Arnim. On the whole, this volume is the most delightful of the entire series.

Incidentally, Prof. Suphan's preface raises the curiously confused question as to the origin of the widely quoted simile which likens architecture to "frozen music." Goethe altered the phrase to "dumb music," saying that a "noble philosopher" (in allusion, doubtless, to Schelling) had called it "petrified music," which after all is the happier phrase. It is evident, however, that Goethe laid no claim to the idea, although Emerson in 'Nature' attributes it to him and to Mme. de Staël. Mme. de Staël did, indeed, quote it, and Henry Crabb Robinson, who correctly assigns it to Schelling, says she considered it in bad taste; but this did not deter her from using a similar figure in 'Corinne': "La vue d'un tel monument est comme une musique continuelle et fixée." Coleridge may have had some dim recollection of the words of Schelling when he called a Gothic church a "petrified religion." Eckermann relates that Goethe, in 1829, found among his papers a loose sheet on which architecture was likened to petrified music; but in the poet's posthumous works the phrase is altered to "dumb music," as Emerson quotes it. Düntzer, finally, in his notes on Eckermann, tells us that Friedrich von Schlegel invented the phrase "frozen music," whereas Schelling had merely said "plastic music." Byron was another of Schelling's contemporaries who was haunted by this bold figure. He thought he had seen it quoted in 'De l'Allemagne,' and in his diary of November 17, 1813, he writes: "Architecture, says this Macaronico Tedesco, reminds me of frozen music. It is somewhere, but where?"

The whole confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that for more than half a century the phrase was only an oral tradition. Schelling was the first to use the figure, and he fully exploited it in his lectures on the "Philosophie der Kunst" which he delivered at Jena in 1802-1803, but which were not published until 1859, five years after the philosopher's death. Schlegel, who was privat-docent at the University of Jena in 1802 and on intimate terms with Schelling, seems to have been the one who chose the attribute "frozen." The word used by Schelling was not "gefrorene," but "erstarrte," "rigid" rather than "frozen." Schelling frequently reverted to this thought: "Architecture," he says, "is a concrete music"; "a beautiful building is nothing but music felt by the eye, a concert of harmonies and harmonic relations subject to the conditions of space instead of those of time." He cites Vitruvius, who declared that every architect should be a musician; and even in the ancient fable of Amphion and the walls of Thebes he finds the underlying conception of the essential connection between architecture and music. It is amusing to see the international interest which this idea of Schelling's excited. "There was much shaking of heads over it," said Goethe.

The *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1897 continues the useful career of this literary scrap-book. A fine portrait of the distinguished protectress of the Goethe Gesellschaft, the late Grand Duchess of Weimar, is prefixed to the volume, and there is a brief, modest, but feeling tribute to her gentle and beneficent virtues from the pen of Prof. Erich Schmidt. This able and great-hearted woman possessed the best characteristics of the sturdy race of the House of Orange. To a lofty sense of her public obligations as heiress of the Goethe treasures, and to a wide knowledge of literature, she united a high degree of executive ability and tireless energy; she has won a place among the foremost of those who have labored to spread the serene influence of the German poet.

From the batch of seven letters of Goethe which here appear too late to take their chronological place in the Weimar edition, it is evident that supplementary volumes will be necessary to receive the tardy documents that are constantly coming to light and to render that monumental work complete. There are three letters from the younger Voss which give an amiable glimpse of his father; several from A. W. von Schlegel; a short bit of correspondence between Goethe and Lichtenberg, and a series of dull communications from a youth who was sojourning in Wetzlar in 1778 when the Werther fever was at its height. The latter reveal once more the mad enthusiasm which the unfortunate Werther let loose over Germany, but they possess no real value. The only scrap of information they contain is old: the separation from Lotte at the end of the first part of the story is a poetic fiction, since the scenes among which Werther continues to move Goethe painted, like all the preceding, directly from the region in and about Wetzlar.

To the plain lover of literature whose interest in the dusty accumulations of the "philological method" quickly grows languid, a letter from Pius Wolff to Lilienstern is more likely to appeal. Wolff was an actor at the court theatre of Weimar, and it was at his instigation that Goethe undertook to modify "Romeo and Juliet" for the German stage. Wolff was delighted with the result, and described it in detail to his correspondent. The alteration that excited the most comment was the omission of the reconcilement at the end of the play. It had been observed that after the death of *Juliet* the audience invariably prepared to depart. Accordingly, Goethe ended the drama with *Juliet's* death. With the following lines *Friar Laurence* closes the tomb and the play:

> "This gloomy portal shall here shut you in
> Until I may disclose your hapless fate.
> Blessed is he who loveth without sin,
> For finally the tomb encloseth love and hate."

A certain nobleman in Weimar called Goethe to account for this alteration: "Excuse me," he said, "why have you left out the reconcilement?" "Christian love, my dear sir," replied Goethe simply, "can doubtless supply the reason." But succeeding theatre managers in Germany, failing to apply this test, have adhered to the Shakspeian version.

The annual report of the Society shows the usual prosperous condition. Although the membership has fallen off by seventeen, this in a total enrolment of 2,676 has no significance. The acquisition of the original letters of Goethe to Frau von Stein is

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here recorded. They have long been the coveted treasure of the Stein estate at Kochberg, but now, by purchase and formal presentation to the Grand Duchess, they have been permanently incorporated in the archives at Weimar. Another valuable addition to these manuscript collections was made by the wise generosity of Mrs. Ida Freiligrath, the widow of the poet. It consists of the whole extensive correspondence of her husband, including letters from Chamisso, Uhland, Brentano, Immermann, Geibel, Kerner—in short, from all the members of the brilliant Romantic group to which Freiligrath belonged. This is another and important step in the direction which the management is consciously and consistently following, of making the Goethe-Schiller archives a universal safe-deposit vault for all the manuscript treasures of German literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The value of such a concentration of literary "sources" to students cannot be overestimated. The year ending with May, 1897, shows a greater advance towards this goal than any previous year since the bequest of the last of the Goethes to the late Grand Duchess called the Society into existence.

SKEAT'S CHAUCERIAN PIECES.

Chaucerian and Other Pieces. Edited, from numerous manuscripts, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt. D., etc. Being a Supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1897.

The black-letter editions of Chaucer contain, as everybody knows, a considerable amount of matter not from his pen. Much of this has been dropped by modern editors, but much has been retained, and a number of poems which no competent scholar can for a moment believe to be genuine have, by a kind of tradition, become so closely associated with Chaucer's name that the writers of hand-books and other works of ready reference, as well as some easy-going, literary men, still refer to them as his. This is particularly the case with "The Flower and the Leaf," "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," and "The Court of Love," which, in this regard, seem to bear a charmed life. In his six-volume Oxford Edition (1894), Prof. Skeat included only such works as he regarded as genuine, with the single exception of the "Romaunt of the Rose," only a part of which he ascribes to Chaucer. The interest attaching to some of the spurious pieces is, however, so great, partly from their own merits and partly from their having been so long associated with the works of the poet, that a seventh volume was called for, which should take up the most important portion of this miscellaneous material. Such a volume has now been issued, purchasable separably, but uniform in type and size with the six of the Oxford Edition. The contents are, as we have suggested, of a highly miscellaneous character. In date, they range from the last quarter of the fourteenth century to the last quarter of the fifteenth, or even later; in subject and style, they range from religious polemics in prose to amatory allegory in courtly verse. In one point only they all agree: they include nothing that is Chaucer's except for the numerous passages which their various authors conveyed from his works.

Of the 450 pages of text, 145 are occupied by "The Testament of Love." The literary history of this curious document is extraordinary enough. The author gives us a good deal of information about his life. In his youth, he tells us, he was implicated in certain political plots. He was arrested, but life and liberty were offered him if he would inform against the ringleaders of the conspiracy. He accepted the offer, betrayed his masters, and was pardoned by the king. He complains that this conduct caused him to be much blamed, although his revelations were made, he insists, not from a selfish regard for his own safety, but on the principle that private friendship should not stand against the welfare of the state. Besides, the leaders of the conspiracy did not attempt to help him in his misfortunes: they were using him as a catspaw merely. What more could he have done "unless he wished to be a stinking martyr in a false quarrel"? He had accused no man unjustly. Indeed, he had "proffered his body so largely into proving of those things that Mars should have judged the end" (*i. e.*, he was willing to establish his veracity by wager of battle), but no one accepted his challenge.

All these statements were utilized by Godwin and others in the manufacture of Chaucer biography; for Chaucer long passed for the author of the "Testament," despite the abundant evidence the document itself affords that it was written not by him, but by some warm admirer of his genius. The theory of a Chaucerian authorship for the "Testament" was exploded a good while ago, but it was reserved for Prof. Skeat and Mr. Henry Bradley, Dr. Murray's learned associate in the editorship of the 'New English Dictionary,' to clear up the whole problem. Prof. Skeat made the happy discovery that the initial letters of the various chapters of the work were meant to form an acrostic, which he read as follows: "Margarete of Virtw [virtue], have merci on THSKNVI." He conjectured that THSKNVI contained the name of the unknown author, but he did not succeed in reading the riddle. Meantime Mr. Bradley, working independently, had found that the biographical hints of the "Testament" correspond to known facts in the life of one of Chaucer's contemporaries. He had also observed strange signs of dislocation in book iii. In some instances the beginning and the end of a sentence had nothing to do with each other. Clearly, several leaves of the manuscript used by Thynne, who is our sole authority for the text, had been accidentally shuffled. With admirable patience and skill Mr. Bradley rearranged the folios of this (lost) manuscript so as to reduce the text to coherency. He then read the acrostic discovered by Mr. Skeat, and had the well-deserved satisfaction of finding that the mysterious THSKNVI became THIN VSK, *i. e.*, "thine Usk," the name of that contemporary of Chaucer whose life Mr. Bradley had already found to agree with the autobiographical statements in the "Testament." Thomas Usk was clerk to John of Northampton, Mayor of London in 1381-'82 and 1382-'83, and betrayed his master in precisely the fashion suggested by the "Testament." Mr. Bradley immediately communicated his brilliant discovery to Prof. Skeat, whose text of the "Testament" was accordingly readjusted by the cancellation of several sheets already struck off. The mystery of "The Testament of Love" is thus happily solved, and a not unimportant chapter is contributed to Middle English literary history. Usk seems to have been a poor creature—he certainly was a vague and confused writer and a good deal of a plagiarist; but the historians of English prose cannot afford to neglect his treatise.

Another piece restored to its author in Mr. Skeat's volume is "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," one of the best of the pseudo-Chaucerian poems, and modernized, our readers will remember, by Wordsworth. This is ascribed in a hitherto neglected manuscript to "Clanvowe," whom Prof. Skeat, with Dr. Furnivall's assistance, has identified with a Sir Thomas Clanvowe who lived in the time of Richard II. and Henry IV. The mention of the "queen at Woodstock," which has played its rôle in Chaucer biography, is now explained on the theory that the poem "was addressed to Joan of Navarre, Henry IV.'s stepmother, Queen of England from 1403 to 1413, who held [this manor] as part of her dower." There seems to be nothing against Mr. Skeat's identification of the author of this pleasing poem.

Of the other pieces in the volume several are by known authors. Gower is represented by his lines to Henry IV. ("O noble worthy King, Henry the Ferthe"), now christened "The Praise of Peace," and by some Latin verses. Hoccleve furnishes "The Letter of Cupid," his translation of the "Epistre au Dieu d'Amors" of Christine de Pisan, as well as two *ballades*. To Lydgate belong some nine pieces, among them "The Complaint of the Black Knight" and "The Flower of Courtesy." Two or three of these, however, are of somewhat doubtful authorship. Henryson's "Testament of Cresseid"; "La Belle Dame sans Mercy"—Sir Richard Ros's translation from Alain Chartier—and the "Moral Balade" of Henry Scogan, which, though of no literary merit, has a strong personal interest for every reader of Chaucer, are of course included in Mr. Skeat's collection. A stanza called "Prosperity" closes the list of the pieces whose authors are known. This has been lately recognized by Prof. Liddell as part of the prologue to John Walton's Boethius. Besides these, the volume contains—to neglect three or four scraps of no consequence—the very important "Plowman's Tale," generally admitted to be by the author of "Pierce the Plowman's Crede"; "Jack Upland," the vigorous prose attack on the friars, amusingly printed by Thomas Wright as alliterative verse; "The Flower and the Leaf" and "The Assembly of Ladies," both held by Prof. Skeat to be the work of one and the same woman; and "The Court of Love." A considerable number of writers, it will be observed, are represented in this collection of pseudo-Chauceriana. Mr. Skeat makes out fourteen, with the possibility of three or four more.

It will be seen that Mr. Skeat has taken in everything that could reasonably be expected, with one exception—"The Isle of Ladies" (commonly known as "Chaucer's Dream"). This is, in our opinion, an unfortunate omission. Mr. Skeat excuses it by alleging "the inordinate length" of the poem and its accessibility in "the texts by Moxon, Bell, and Morris." As to the length of the "Dream," that is a poor reason for leaving it out. Space could have been made in a variety of ways. One could have spared, for example, the "List of Subscribers," which fills twenty-one whole pages; or, if this list is holy, some of the Lydgate and Hoccleve matter might have been sacrificed. For, though the "Dream" *is* accessible after a

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fashion, it is no more so than several other poems which Mr. Skeat has not thrown out, and no critical text has ever been printed. Besides, it offers several quite particular points of interest. Its connection with the cycle of stories represented by the "Lai d'Eliduc" of Marie de France has long been familiar to scholars, but it has not been pointed out, so far as we know, that the essential part of the poem is the story of a visit to the Other World—an island Paradise of Ladies, quite in the Celtic (Irish) manner. The whole has been worked over into a conventional love-poem in the court style of the fifteenth century. Prof. Brandl of Berlin has a theory that the "Dream" is an allegory on the marriage of Henry V. and the fair Katherine of France—a theory which one would be glad to see discussed. Altogether the omission of this poem from Mr. Skeat's book is very much to be regretted.

In editing the 'Chaucerian Pieces' Mr. Skeat has, of course, followed the method of his Oxford Chaucer. He has based his texts on fresh collations of the printed and manuscript materials, and he provides introduction, glossary, and copious notes. The volume shows the merits and the defects on which we have already commented, at considerable length, in a previous review, and we may therefore, with a clear conscience, spare our readers an enumeration of details. It would be easy to fill many columns of the *Nation* with such minutiæ, but it is fairer, as well as more agreeable, to refrain and to thank Mr. Skeat, as we do most heartily, for one more substantial service to English scholarship.

Political Letters and Speeches of George, Thirteenth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1896.

"The man was greater than his work." These words, borrowed from Lord Pembroke's writings, form his best epitaph; but if the rare qualities of his character are what most forcibly strikes students of his writings, Lord Pembroke's work itself was most noteworthy, and his position and influence are deserving of special notice by an American, because they could belong to no one but a high-toned English gentleman, and therefore bring into view a side of English political life well worth attention. The leading traits of Lord Pembroke's character were his sense of justice and his high public spirit. Both of these qualities are apparent in every line which he has left behind him. He was "just" in the two-fold sense of that word: he hated oppression, and, whenever it lay within his power, opposed and checked it; but his justice was something more than the fierce indignation which inspired the satire of Swift no less than the rhetoric of Burke. It was also equity to see things as they are. To allow for the errors of opponents, to try in all matters to get at the truth, to place principles above personalities, was Lord Pembroke's natural impulse, and this was an impulse which he fostered and trained by careful study. These admirable moral traits might exist in a man who, for want of the proper gifts or talents, could hardly make his character tell on others. But Lord Pembroke possessed to a singular degree the endowments which were needed as the complement of his devotion to justice and to reason. His natural grace and courtesy must necessarily have charmed his associates; his clear brain enabled him to discover and bring into relief the essential features of every question which he discussed, and the width of his interests led him to enter into discussion of all the problems which for the last twenty or thirty years have occupied the minds of English statesmen. Add to all this that he was master of a lucid style which was admirably suited for the expression of his own opinions, and for the confutation of the fallacies by which his arguments were opposed.

When one thinks of Lord Pembroke's character and talents, one's wonder is that he did not stand among the first rank of English statesmen, and that his name should be less known to foreigners than the names of men who possess neither a tenth of his worth nor half of his talents. The explanation is, we believe, to be found in the word ill-health. Want of physical strength was with Lord Pembroke, as with other men of rare gifts, the cause of his not coming more decidedly to the front. The man, as we have said, was greater than his work. Yet it would be a grave error to suppose that the result of his labors was insignificant. Over all who knew him, over his friends and his neighbors, he did exercise a profound influence. Nor was it only those with whom he was personally acquainted that he influenced. His powers as a writer gave him ready access to the public press. He was one of those men to whose opinions both the public and leading statesmen paid attention. His voice was the voice of reason, and of reason which could insist upon obtaining a hearing. To think that because Lord Pembroke's name cannot be associated with definite acts of Parliament, or with the carrying through of some great political change, he did not do a work in the world which was well worth doing, is to mistake appearance for reality, and also to misapprehend the conditions of public life in England. The writer or speaker who has kept before the world views likely to be forgotten—who, for example, has insisted, as did Lord Pembroke, on the vital importance of maintaining the navy at the strength necessary for the defence of England at a time when politicians were more anxious to remit taxes than to make certain that the country was safe against attack—may not have been heard with applause by huge public meetings, or have occupied a high place in any cabinet, but he has rendered a service of infinite worth to the nation. The class of men, moreover, of whom Lord Pembroke was a striking representative, are almost peculiar to England, and exercise there a sort of power which foreign critics neither understand nor for the most part note. The class consists of the body of independent thinkers and writers who take an active part in the political conflicts of their time, and yet, for one reason or another, can hardly be termed politicians. Men of this stamp are sometimes well-known writers and thinkers, such as were Mill, Bagehot, or Greg. They are sometimes gentlemen of weight in their own country, men who write little, but whose words and acts guide and form the opinions of a neighborhood. They are occasionally men, like Lord Pembroke, who combine high station and remarkable intellectual powers both with rare literary gifts and with a practical knowledge of public life. Men of this stamp are often for a time overlooked. They may seem for a moment to be thrown into the background by the practical politicians or the enthusiastic fanatics who court and receive the attention of the public. But in the long run the men of high character and of thoughtful and independent minds—in England, at any rate—get themselves heard, and the conclusions at which they have arrived generally determine the policy of the nation.

He who at any time can discover what is the direction in which the opinions of thoughtful men are veering, will be able to predict with some confidence what is the course which England will ultimately follow. A little more than a century ago the best and most independent men in England had condemned the French Revolution. It was their condemnation which made it certain that English conservatism would steadily oppose the revolutionary enthusiasm of France. In 1830 Eldonian Toryism had been tried and found wanting by the men of fair minds and of high character. Reform from that moment became a certainty. Before 1846, while the conversion of Peel was still a secret or a mystery, the thought and the morality of England had been enlisted on the side of free trade. It was certain that within a very few years some leader would perceive the current of public opinion and deal a death-blow to protection. It is this tacit, though hardly acknowledged, deference for independent opinion which is the saving element of English politics. Men like Lord Pembroke, therefore, exert a power the extent of which cannot be measured, but the reality of which does not admit of doubt; they help in forming the true national judgment; they are the teachers, if not exactly the leaders, of the nation. Their lives may or may not be conspicuous, but their lives are not thrown away, for such teachers insure the ultimate triumph of wisdom and of justice.

Dictionary of American Authors. By Oscar Fay Adams. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1897.

Mr. Adams's book fills a long-felt want. He has condensed the notices of American authors in the 'Dictionary' of Allibone and Kirk, the 'Library of American Literature,' and 'Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography'—all voluminous and massive works—into one volume of 444 pages, whose convenient shape will be appreciated by everybody having need of ready reference. He has not only abridged, but occasionally has corrected or supplemented the material used. His criticism is nearly always sound and expressed with epigrammatic brevity; but can it truly be said of Theodore Parker (what is justly not allowed to Henry Ward Beecher) that "since his death his influence has deepened both in America and Europe"? There are, in fact, only three points at which fault can fairly be found—his failure to acknowledge his obligations to his predecessors, his occasional errors, and the want of any apparent principle which governed him in deciding which authors should be taken and which left.

Although the book contains some 8,000 names, the omissions are innumerable, while blunders are not infrequent, though often, no doubt, mere misprints. Such are "Sydney" for Sidney Fisher; "Graydon" for Grayson, under J. M. Bixby; "1793" for 1798 in the notice of J. P. Brace; "Swartout" for Swartwout, under Cozzens; "1850" instead of 1858, as the death-year of H. M. Stephens;

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"Arcadia" for Acadia, under Cheney; and "Tulley" for Talley, under Mrs. S. A. Weiss. For some misstatements and blunders, however, the compiler must be held responsible. Such are double entries of the same person, as (p. 30) "Bloomfield-Moore, Clara," and (p. 259) "Moore, Clara"; also (p. 55), "Chaillé-Long, Charles, Md., 1843," and (p. 233) "Long, Charles Chaillé, Md., 1842," with a longer description of his life, etc. J. H. Ingraham's entrance into the ministry is post-dated by eight years. The notice of Mrs. L. C. Lillie does not mention her kinship to Mrs. Catherine White, or the fact that her name, for several years, has been Harte, though similar facts are recorded in the case of other writers. The elisions in the name of Mrs. Jamison are unnecessary, as appears from the sketch published in *St. Nicholas*, so that instead of "Celia V—— [Hamilton]" we should have Cécile Viets (Dakin) (Hamilton). The notices of the Virginia Tuckers are inaccurate: Henry St. George is said to have been born in Bermuda, instead of Virginia; Beverley is called Nath. Beverly, and St. George Tucker 2d is likewise provided with a forename (Henry) unknown to the family Bible.

Space fails us to mention more than a few of the omissions. Among them are the silly but immensely popular "Ruth Ashmore," known to the accurate cataloguer as Mrs. Isabel (Sloan) Mallon; Elizabeth Balch, who died in 1890 after writing the supposititious answers of Mérimée's 'Inconnue'; Mrs. Julia Perkins Ballard, author of some admirable children's books, whose death occurred in 1894; Anne H. Brewster, 1818-'92; "Ned Buntline"; Matthew St. Clair Clarke, who wrote a Life of David Crockett here ascribed to the hero of it, as is also another life written by R. P. Smith; Eliza Cushing, who wrote a once valued historical novel called 'Saratoga,' and whose sister, Mrs. Cheney, is duly entered; James De Mille, Mayne Reid, and Charles Sealsfield (the two latter, at least, claimed to be citizens); Miss Trumbull, of the famous Connecticut family, called on her title-pages "Annie Eliot" (J. H. Trumbull's death is not noted); A. K. Fiske; Sarah C. F. Hallowell; Frances A. Humphrey; W. Landon, author of a once famous novel called 'Stanley'; Margaret Lee; J. Loffland, formerly well known as "The Milford Bard"; Mrs. St. Leon Loud, whose poems Poe engaged to edit, and which were published by Ticknor in 1851; James McHenry, author of 'The Wilderness' and other renowned novels; E. S. Maclay; Julia H. Moore, whose fame, as "The Sweet Singer of Michigan," long filled the Western world; Eldridge F. Paige, whose 'Patent Sermons' are still in demand, though their author died thirty-eight years ago; C. C. Shackford, who died in 1891, etc.

The number of works, or their importance, apparently does not enter into consideration in the selection. For example, William T. Davis, author, among other works, of the large and laborious 'Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth,' is not an obscure American, but he and his books are ignored, while we find this precious entry: "Rice, Isaac Leopold. *Bo* [*hemia*], 1850 —. A lawyer of New York city who has written 'What is Music?'" Indeed! Turning up this author in the 'American Catalogue,' we learn that his screed forms No. 140 of the "Humboldt Library" and is issued in paper covers at fifteen cents! We need go no further to show how arbitrary is Mr. Adams's choice; but we must not conceal W. J. Bryan's admission to the Addenda on the strength of his catchpenny 'First Battle,' a review of the campaign of 1896. For Mr. Adams's purpose "America" is not Canada, and hence only immigrants like Prof. Roberts and Bliss Carman are allowed a place. Mr. Goldwin Smith's temporary residence on this side of the border counts for nothing. Present residence, as in the case of Dr. von Holst, is an open-sesame. There is an occasional infelicity in description, as of J. F. Rhodes as "An historian of Boston," where a comma is needed after "historian." Finally, the dates of death are often omitted, or incorrectly given. Barlow's birthyear is given as 1754 instead of 1755.

While recognizing the conscientiousness of Mr. Adams's work, we are obliged to say of it, as of so many works of its class, that it is welcome in spite of its deficiencies.

The Gladwin Manuscripts. With an Introduction and a Sketch of the Conspiracy of Pontiac. By Charles Moore. Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Company. 1897.

Major Gladwin, the defender of Detroit against Pontiac, has suffered in reputation both from Parkman's comparative neglect and, perhaps more, from a phrase which occurs in one of his letters to Amherst. Towards the end of 1763, when the danger was over, he advised a policy of conciliation. Nothing was to be gained by prosecuting a war where the enemy were so difficult to catch. Moreover, says Gladwin, there is a better way of getting rid of them than by retaliatory warfare. "They have lost eighty or ninety of their best warriors, but if your Excellency still intends to punish them further for their barbarities, it may be easily done, without any expense to the Crown, by permitting a free sale of rum, which will destroy them more effectively than fire or sword." The passage just quoted has generally been wrested from its context, and used to exemplify a method of treating the aborigines more shameful than their own treacheries. The fact is that Gladwin only suggests a means to be used in the last resort. At the end of the same sentence he expresses the hope that matters may be otherwise accommodated for the sake of the peltry trade and for the preservation of the Mississippi frontier against barbarous nations more remote than the ones in question.

Though Parkman is inclined to give Gladwin the cold shoulder, and does not even spell his name correctly, it would be unjust to accuse him of neglecting his sources. Only exceptional diligence and good fortune have enabled Mr. Moore to lay hands upon the documents which he has used in preparing his article for *Harper's Magazine*, and which he publishes with an account of their acquisition. The discovery of Gladwin's great-grandchildren under other names and the chances of the auction-room were needed to put him in possession of the information he had long been seeking. With its aid he is able to establish the degree of Gladwin's activity at Detroit and the extent of French complicity in Pontiac's revolt. Leaving the reader to make out from Mr. Moore's interesting preface how he managed to secure his prize, we shall content ourselves with saying a word on each of these two points.

With regard to Gladwin's success in feeding his garrison, keeping open communication with a food depot, and repelling the thousand howling savages without, it is obvious that he stayed the course of the rebellion, which the fall of Sandusky and other forts had rendered formidable. In order, however, to estimate his resourcefulness at its proper value, one must see him behind the palisades after Dalzell's fiasco, which cost the English 159 killed and wounded, against the trifling loss of 20 Indians. Gladwin permitted the sortie only on Dalzell's threat that he would withdraw the relieving force unless permitted to lead an attack. The "battle of Bloody Run" came in the nick of time for Pontiac, and brought him large reinforcements. "Yet never since the siege began," in Mr. Moore's words, "was Major Gladwin more confident of ultimate success."

With regard to the attitude of the French, these new documents prove almost conclusively that Pontiac was more their cat's-paw than the compeller of their unwilling services. The evidence given at Gladwin's inquiries, held during the siege, points straight to their active complicity.

"Mr. Clairmont told Col. Gladwin [May 11, 1764] in the presence of Capt. Grant and Lt. Hay. That the 9th day of May 1763 (being near the Mouth of the River Huron getting timber where was also Mr Massac and many other Frenchmen) at three in the morning some Indians came by there with a Belt inviting all nations of Indians they met to fall upon the English wherever they found them. That they sung the War Song in Mr. Massac's house or Cabbin . . . . and that Mr. Massac sung with them & when he struck his stroke in the song he struck with a little loaf of bread. That one Dunoir and one Campeau was present."

There is much more in this strain.

Altogether Mr. Moore is successful in rehabilitating his hero. Incidentally, he illustrates the improvement of English regular officers in fighting Indian foes. Gladwin had been a member of Braddock's expedition, and was also before Ticonderoga. He must either have possessed a marked aptitude for guerilla warfare, which is very possible, or have learned caution by hard experience. One certainly notes a strong contrast between the ambush of Little Meadows and the siege of Detroit.

Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Collected and arranged by G. F. Hill, M.A., of the British Museum. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1897.

It is well known that, in this country, historical method has been developed almost exclusively in connection with mediæval and modern history, and that few colleges have as yet made provision for the scientific study of the history of Greece and Rome. Many things are needed, therefore, to bring historical scholarship and teaching in the field of classical history up to the level of its importance. There is need, for instance, of abler and more liberally endowed instruction, of better text-books, and of collections of sources in the original languages and in translations, for the use of students and pupils. Mr. Hill's book helps to supply one of these needs. His work has been done for a period that is highly interesting, both for its political developments and for its still unsolved historical problems. The book treats of eastern and western Greece, of Athens and Sparta and the federative and imperial systems that these two cities repre-

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sented, of the external and constitutional history of the Greek States, and of the lives of eminent men. The selections are in the original languages, and are both literary and epigraphic. The work is thus adapted to the needs of scholars and of advanced college students. The sources are arranged topically in chapters, and detailed indices have been added.

The scope of the work is comprehensive, facilitating a broad and thorough study of the political history of the period. The editor has rarely added a note or offered a conjectural reading of his own: his individuality appears only in the selection and arrangement of the material. Thus he has avoided placing himself between student and source. It is his opinion, expressed in the preface, that "the student of [ancient] history is too apt to study it, not in the light of ancient authorities, but in the reflections of modern writers." The study of sources should be emphasized as much for ancient as for modern history. Original research is, indeed, the only basis on which sound historical scholarship can be built. It would be a fatal mistake, however, to ignore the results of modern criticism. The modern historians, though but interpreters of ancient sources, are nevertheless absolutely indispensable. It would be a waste of time to reiterate so trite a truth, were it not that survivals of eighteenth-century methods of writing ancient history are still manifesting themselves in certain quarters. Mr. Hill has left us in doubt as to his position in relation to this matter. Perhaps he would admit that the student must be guided through his book by experienced hands, but would prefer to leave such guidance to the various modern authorities on the period treated. At all events, his work, so far as it goes, has been ably and carefully done. May we hope that it is the beginning of a series of collections of sources that will include all the important epochs of classical history?

Vita Medica: Chapters of Medical Life and Work. By Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. Longmans. 1897.

Most readers, as they lay down the 'Vita Medica' of Richardson, will say, "Here is a book of five hundred pages with scarcely a dull line." From first to last the record is permeated with an interesting personality—a born doctor, who, like the Great Physician, went about doing good, and that chiefly to the poor, whose needs are greatest and whose helpers are fewest. In describing his own career, he draws to the life English customs in middle-class schools and society, especially in the sphere of provincial practitioners. These things—as it were paper and twine thrown in for nothing—wrap up and diversify the medical narrative, and make it easier for readers to carry.

Beginning with rural practice, Richardson soon gravitated to London as naturally as a planet to the sun. Reaching that metropolitan goal early in the fifties, and in his third decade, he never left it, save for country lectures. We never hear of him beyond the four seas. But his home activities were intense, and they were never interrupted save by one fever of fourteen weeks, caught while on a tour of duty. His writings were voluminous, and in a single periodical filled more than five thousand pages. He did much hospital work, and was laborious, as president, and otherwise, in several associations of his professional brethren. Few men have been inspired with such courage of their convictions and by their convictions. In 1869 and for decades afterward, he stood as a medical advocate of total abstinence. He had been in practice a score of years before he became convinced that alcohol was an enemy to life, both in health and in sickness, and that it was his duty to proclaim his conviction. Nothing so cut him to the heart as the social and professional ostracism, or boycotting, which he encountered.

"I remember," he says, "nothing like the mischief which befell me when I made the first [temperance] sortie. Before then, my lecture-rooms had been filled by medical men, who liked to see new experiments and to listen to what might now be styled 'post-graduate courses.' Afterwards the rooms were simply vacant. From the outside world the sick had sought me, and life was on the crest of the wave. The charm ceased so soon as I declared for the principle of total abstinence" (p. 377).

With many other touching utterances he shows multitudes who had cried Hosanna, eager to crucify. But he survived to serve for twenty years in a total abstinence hospital, and to chronicle a corresponding revolution in medical opinion and practice where he had been maltreated.

The three graces, faith, hope, and charity, abided in Richardson, but of these three the greatest in him was hope. He had much charity for the baffled but well-meant endeavors of the past, more faith in the achievements of the present, and, most of all, hope in the medical future—a hope which rendered him to his last week of life a tireless and sanguine experimentalist. His dealings with anæsthetics give us a typical taste of his quality. He had charity for the drastic James Wardrop, who, "when vaporous inhalation was still unknown, had produced deliquium, or fainting, and thereby insensibility, by bleeding, and then performed operations painlessly" (p. 412). Again, he had faith in gaining the same painless end without bloodshed, and that from the smoke of a puff-ball—the "devil's snuff-box" (p. 162); and much more faith in the chloroform anæsthetic imported from America. This invention he hailed as foreshadowing the abolition of pain. The objection that it often lulled patients into a sleep which knows no waking he saw to be serious, and through life made full proof of chemical compounds and devices which would render anæsthesia as safe as natural sleep. He devised, among other things, the ether-spray apparatus (p. 286), and, though he died without finding what he sought, his hope was unfaltering to the end. "Pain," said he, "will be utterly abolished, and, as a part of an operation, will not be taken into consideration because it will not be called forth" (p. 289).

Richardson's mind was so sensitized in regard to his own line of inventiveness that trifles light as air or shadows photographed themselves upon it, or were there transfigured into potent anodynes. Thus some drops of cologne shot through a tube upon his forehead by a lady with whom he was about to dance gave him the ether-spray invention. Besides being a trained chemist, he was a natural mechanician. Hence, not only were his manipulations skilful from the cutset, but, thanks to witty inventions nobody had thought of before, they grew more and more successful and spectacular. He could not fail to become a favorite lecturer on his specialty. Speaking to popular audiences he more and more eschewed such a professional dialect as is "not understanded of the people." He had early been taught in this line. His first prize was the Fothergillian gold medal for an essay on "Diseases of the Fœtus in utero." This production he carried to a publisher who, as he had no doubt, would be glad to share in the profits of publication. The only reason given for the rejection of his manuscript, without even a reading, was that its title proved to the publisher that its author could not write anything the world would read.

Richardson's quests and experiments were numberless. A partial list of them embraced antiseptics and lethals, the blood, nervous centres, reanimation, and the germ theory. But his chief end was treason against his own profession, for his heart's desire was to make doctors useless through sanitations so perfect and pervasive that disease would be extinguished. His idea of the city Hygeiopolis, analogous to Plato's ideal Republic, he bodied forth in a lecture in Brighton Dome before the Social Science Association. In preparing this discourse by the seaside, he traced a plan of the city of health with his cane in the sand for the amusement of his little daughter. He thus illustrated model sewage, water-supply, ventilation, parks, etc. The night wind blew away the sand sketch, and it had to be renewed in the morning. But, said an American critic, though "the winds blew it away, they blew it all over the world." Nor were these words hyperbolical, for the address took the audience by storm, and all London papers, from *Punch* to the *Times*, as well. It made the fortune of the *Sanitary Review*, and added more to the lecturer's fame than any single effort of his career. Much of what Richardson hoped for, and for which all creation yearns, may be a transcendental reverie. He believed himself on the point of producing, by the operations of the laboratory, milk better than any cow can yield, "because free from any possibility of causing disease." He was inclined to vegetarianism, and held that chemists would soon transmute vegetables into food that would be practically animal in taste and quality and (if they pleased) appearance. More than this, "all races, in his visions, were to be dyed of one color, with their highroads through the skies, and their paths on the floors of the seas." No idealist rises to the height of his ideal, but he rises higher than he could but for soaring on such a pinion, and his failures are often better than other successes.

A History of Pembroke College, Oxford, Anciently Broadgate's Hall. By the Rev. Douglas Macleane. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde.

We have here the thirty-third volume issued by the Oxford Historical Society, comprising in its 544 closely printed pages an elaborate history of the foundation and the fabric, with a series of biographical sketches of "its best remembered sons," drawn up, so far as we can see, with care and judgment. A college which can reckon among its alumni Bishop Bonner the Marian persecutor, Beaumont the poet, Camden the antiquary, Pym the parliamentarian, Sir Thomas Browne the author of 'Religio Medici,' the browbeating Chief Justice Scroggs,

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Blackstone, with his oppressive spirit of orderliness, and the perfervid Whitefield, not to mention such notable men of science in our own day as Rolleston the physiologist, and Hatch the ecclesiastical historian, has no lack of interest and variety in its traditions; and to all these we have to add the name of Samuel Johnson, "the greatest of the sons of Pembroke." Johnson has conferred on the modern cicerone the inestimable benefits of a good story—the pair of boots thrown down stairs; and a good phrase—"a nest of singing birds."

Most of the matter in the book is necessarily compiled from other and obvious sources, and in the present form can appeal only to Pembroke men. But, like all these Oxford publications, there is much in it to interest the historian of manners, especially of academic manners. A few examples may be taken at random. Early in the seventeenth century a change is noticed in the composition of the undergraduate body owing to the growing practice of sending "nobellmen's sonnes" into France "when they are very yonge" (p. 240 and note). On p. 360 will be found some observations worth considering in defence of the old servitorships, which brought poor men to the universities "from the plough and the shop." Mr. Macleane makes the not unnecessary comment that "there are still servants attached to the colleges, but they are not admitted to lecture-room or chapel." With this may be associated the defence, on p. 445, of the old local endowments: "The earlier founders believed that any lad of average parts who was willing to study might be made into a student. They supplied him with bare necessaries and hedged him round with scholastic discipline. There was no reason, therefore, why their bounty should not be annexed to certain schools, localities, or families." As the present Archbishop of Canterbury remarked when the restrictions were being abolished forty years ago, "the change of manners has deprived us of the check which once restrained idle men from undertaking what was then a laborious life." There are some instructive entries (p. 407) from the day-book of an eighteenth-century Fellow which display a liberality in the purchase of standard books when still an undergraduate which might put to shame many a well-to-do student of to-day. But when he was elected Fellow, at the ripe age of seventeen or eighteen, he seems to have felt a desire for a little mild dissipation, and on that very day he—not bought, he was too canny for that, but—"hired" 'Joseph Andrews' for sixpence. His appetite growing by what it fed on, two months later he "hired" 'Peregrine Pickle' for a shilling! Let us add, in view of much recent talk about Jowett, that a glance may well be given to another reforming head of a college, of a somewhat earlier period, Dr. Jeune, of whom there are here several anecdotes of the fine old crusted Oxford kind (pp. 468-9). The result of recent reforms, however—not, indeed, in Pembroke, but "elsewhere"—has, according to the author, been the conversion of the colleges into "barracks of undergraduates, officered by stranded tutors and adventitious hired chaplains" (p. 459). Mr. Macleane, it should be observed, has "gone down" from Oxford, and so can speak his mind in comfort.

Samuel Sewall and the World he Lived in. By Rev. N. H. Chamberlain. Boston: DeWolfe, Fiske & Co. 1897. Pp. xv, 319.

This volume, the author modestly warns the reader, "does not . . . pretend to original research; it avoids, with intention, the minute exactness of the antiquarian, and it uses for its groupings and pictures of the ancient Puritan life such material, from any quarter whatsoever, as could be verified and made useful"; but it is none the less evident that Mr. Chamberlain's book is the fruit of much labor and care. With Sewall's well-known diary as his guiding thread, and with constant quotation from it, the author sketches many features of the life and character of the New Englanders of the second and third generation, their conceptions of Church and State, their business characteristics, their home life, their courtships, their literature, their relations to the other races with which they were brought in contact. If he has added little that was novel, he has described the traits of the age with which he deals with much clearness of insight and fair-mindedness. The Puritan, as he sees him, was not altogether a hero, a fanatic, or a creature of quaint and amusing habits and surroundings. The Puritan was an emigrant Englishman, facing and solving as best he could the problems of his day, many of which press equally on our own.

Mr. Chamberlain's characterizations and generalizations are often suggestive, as a description of Roger Williams may illustrate:

"No wise man will willingly affront his memory, even when pointing out his weaknesses. The fact is that Roger Williams was made up after a polyglot pattern. He was a sort of Oriental caravan, bearing all sorts of balm, myrrh, and frankincense for delight and use; but he wandered often from the track, brought little bread, though a few pearls of great price; and, to say truth, had not great store of anything to feed the hungry into mastery in the land to which he fared."

For the diary that lies at the basis of the volume, and for Sewall himself, Mr. Chamberlain has high admiration.

"It is very much as this land then was—chaotic, migratory, rough, granite, actual, sincere. The barbaric wilderness, savage, cruel, vast, serves as the background of all his pictures, and not seldom, as an atmosphere, is often blown into them. While the Diary is rough, uncouth, and almost Gothic in its blunt, sometimes even coarse, downrightness, it is always sincere, confidential, and friendly. Sewall puts no gall in his ink, shows no malice, means to be just, with an intention that does not often fail him, and, in short, writes himself down as a strong-bodied, great-souled, honor-loving Puritan; not altogether above his age—no genius, no saint except in intent, but withal as good 'an all-round man' as New England has ever had. It is this man who has written our one great diary."

Indeed, one may question whether Mr. Chamberlain, in his hearty appreciation of Sewall's good qualities, does not pass too kindly a judgment upon the foibles which were no less manifest. Yet an honest diary is an unsparing revealer of character, and few men could unburden themselves as freely as Sewall evidently did in his pages with less ground for serious reproach.

Mr. Chamberlain has fallen into error in the location of two at least of his minor incidents. The deaconess who "sat in a convenient place in the meeting-house with a birch-rod in her hand to awe little children," was not at Plymouth. Bradford, who gives a picturesque description of her in his Dialogue, saw her on the other side of the Atlantic, as one of the officers of the Separatist Church under Johnson and Ainsworth at Amsterdam. Nor was it of "a fishing congregation in Plymouth Colony," but of one in quite the opposite direction from Boston, that Cotton Mather tells the story of the interruption of the preacher who urged fidelity to the religious purpose of the founders by the exclamation from the pews, "Sir, you are mistaken; you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay; our main end was to catch fish."

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